NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW

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The National Municipal Review

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NEWS for League Members

NBC to Dramatize Citizen Action

A series of radio broadcasts, dramatizing the stories of successful citizen action in American communities, will be presented Sunday afternoons beginning April 18 under the joint auspices of the National Municipal League and the National Broadcasting Company.

The half-hour shows will originate in New York and will be broadcast from 1 to 1:30 P.M., Eastern Standard Time. Most local stations will broadcast the program when received. Others will rebroadcast it at a later time.

Stories already chosen for dramatization by script writers include those of Daytona Beach, Florida: Scranton. Pennsylvania: Richmond, California: Brookfield, Illinois; Canton, Ohio; Kansas City, Missouri; and Columbia, South Carolina, all winners of the All-America Cities Awards given by the League and Look magazine, and Greenwich, Connecticut, which was a runnerup in the 1953 competition. Several other programs may be added.

The programs are under the direction of Wade Arnold, executive producer for the National Broadcasting Company.

The current broadcasts are the second instance of League joint action with NBC in producing civic education programs. In 1932 Dr. Thomas H. Reed, chairman of the League's Committee on Citizens' Councils for Constructive Economy, was chairman of many programs presented by the League in cooperation with the Committee on Civic Education by Radio of the National Advisory Council on Radio in Education and the American Political Science Association.

Twelve series of these weekly broad-

casts, under the general title "You and Your Government," were produced on time donated by NBC from 1932 to 1936. Broadcasts in several series were presented in connection with the League's Pay-Your-Taxes Campaign. Among the topics covered in these series were "Planning," "Trends in Government," and "Taxation For Prosperity."

All twelve series were compiled and distributed in bound volumes, as well as more than 50,000 printed copies of the individual broadcasts. Many scripts were printed in the official publications of other national organizations, and much of the material was used for rebroadcast purposes. In 1935 the "You and Your Government" radio programs received the award of the Women's National Radio Committee for the best noncommercial and non-musical program.

Goodwin Leads San Diego Conference



Ewart W. Goodwin

Ewart Goodwin. League Council member and president of the Percy H. Goodwin Company, was chairman of a discussion entitled "The Urban Problem" at the Fifth National Businessmen's Conference

on Urban Problems, March 4, in San Diego, California.

The two-day conference, sponsored by the Chamber of Commerce of the United States, had as its theme: "A Brighter Future for America's Cities."

Bankers Briefed on Model Bond Law

The League's new Model County and Municipal Bond Law, which had an enthusiastic reception in financial and legal publications at the turn of the year, was the subject of the February 25 meeting of the Municipal Forum of New York.

Dr. Frederick L. Bird, League Council member and director of municipal research, Dun and Bradstreet, Inc., and John S. Linen, vice president of the League and of the Chase National Bank, were the main speakers at the forum's luncheon meeting held at the Lawyers Club. Topic of the session was "Better Laws Make Better Bonds."

Both Dr. Bird and Mr. Linen are members of the League's Committee on a Program of Model Fiscal Legislation for Local Governments.

Dr. Bird, who wrote the introduction for the law, discussed the objectives and philosophy behind the model and the League's entire program. Mr. Linen spoke on those aspects which are of special concern to investment houses bidding on bond issues.

Staff Members Attend ASPA Conference

Three League staff members attended the annual conference of the American Society for Public Administration in Chicago, March 19-21. In addition to attending meetings League representatives met with the Committee on the National Municipal League Staff Fellowship to consider applicants for the fellowship for the 1954-55 period.

Participating from the League were Alfred Willoughby, executive director; John Bebout, assistant director, and William N. Cassella, Jr., NML staff fellow for 1953-54.

The NML Staff Fellowship Committee

Conference Plans Progress In Kansas City

Plans for the 60th National Conference on Government moved forward with the visit of Allen H. Seed, Jr., assistant director, to Kansas City, March 21-24.



Mr. Seed conferred with local civic leaders concerning preliminary arrangements for the Conference, which will be held November 7-10. He also addressed a meeting of the board of directors of the Kansas City

Allen H. Seed, Jr.

Citizens Association. Representatives of cooperating organizations attended.

The Hotel President has been designated Conference headquarters. John B. Gage, League regional vice president and former mayor of Kansas City, will be chairman of the local arrangements committee. Clinton W. Kanaga, Jr., president of the Citizens Association, will be vice chairman.

consists of Roscoe C. Martin, chairman of the Department of Political Science, Syracuse University, chairman; Winston W. Crouch, director, Bureau of Governmental Research, University of California at Los Angeles; Lee S. Greene, director, Bureau of Public Administration, University of Tennessee; Joseph E. McLean, Woodrow Wilson School, Princeton University; Edwin O. Stene, University of Kansas, and Edward W. Weidner, director, Governmental Research Bureau, Michigan State College.

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Distance Makes for Inertia

PERHAPS a new law of political physics should be written. It would read something like this: the interest of a given voter is aroused in inverse proportion to his distance from the elective office. The closer he is, the greater his indifference; the more removed, the greater his use of the ballot.

If such a law has not been formulated, there are good grounds for its existence on the basis of three special elections for assemblymen conducted recently in the city of New York.

In the fourteenth Manhattan Assembly District, 2,810 votes were cast where, during the 1952 presidential election, 22,569 people voted for presidential electors and assemblyman; 90 per cent unquestioningly accepted the choice of the party. Another way of looking at it

—90 per cent of the citizens elected not to choose their own representative. In the fifth Kings County Assembly District, 4,164 voted this year, 32,580 two years ago. In the nineteenth Kings A.D. 67,943 voted in 1952—but this year under 5,000 figured it was worth the effort.

Light voting means lightly considered responsibilities. Inertia at the polls makes no community—whether it be a city, county, state or nation—a better place in which to live.

Great strides have been made in improving municipal and federal government, but what of the states? If the states are to be given some of the responsibilities now borne by the federal government, it is vital that citizens increase their interest in state affairs—in direct, rather than inverse, proportion to their distance from the state capital.

No Place Here for Corruption

WHAT are you doing about graft and corruption in your South Oakland County area?" several out-of-state newspapermen asked me.

They had been describing how their newspapers are trying to clean up graft-ridden police departments and city governments in vice-rotten "wide-open" towns. The occasion was an exchange of newspapermen's experiences at the American Press Institute Seminar, Columbia University, New York City.

"We just don't have that problem in South Oakland County," I declared flatly. "That's a pretty broad statement," one of them challenged.

"I don't mean that South Oakland County doesn't have crime—and too much of it. We have murders, robberies, burglaries, book-making and vandalism. But these crimes are individual acts, not part of an organized vice or crime network and not covered by 'protection' from lax or corrupt police departments or city governments," I told them.

"Your area is unusually fortunate," these other newspapermen stated—and they wondered why.

"It's because of the people themselves and the way in which they have set up their local governments. The citizens of each community," I explained, "are very much interested in their own community and in their local government. They take an active part in community affairs and a keen interest in the way in which their city is governed. They are willing to render all sorts of service to their community without the thought of what they can get out of it. They will not stand for anything which is not honest and aboveboard.

"Since ours are all relatively new communities, the people have had a chance to put in the type of government which they, through careful study, have thought to be the most advantageous.

"In the case of each city, this has turned out to be the city managercouncil type of government.

"The mayor and council are elected directly by the voters and are responsible to them. They form the 'board of directors.' The actual administration of city affairs is done by the city manager, who is a professional and career man. He keeps his job only when he sees that the city gives the best type of service and protection to its citizens. This system provides a series of checks and balances which makes it pretty hard

for any group to seize control of the city government and to riddle it with graft and corruption.

"Perhaps," I told them, "the fact that the nearby city of Detroit is relatively free of organized crime has helped us considerably. It's pretty hard to live next door to a corrupt city and not have some of the evils creep into your community.

"One evidence of the people's interest in keeping their community clean has been the interest and action taken in the elimination of crimecomic books from our communities. It was only necessary for us to point out and emphasize the dangers of this type of literature. The people, in all sorts of community groups and through their local governments, have taken definite steps to rid this area of this undesirable element.

"If the people ever go to sleep on the job and lose their interest in local affairs, things could change. But as long as the citizens in each community are interested in and active in community affairs and local government, the chances are pretty good that we can preserve clean, corruption-free communities."

PHILIP F. MILLER, Vice President The Daily Tribune

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Broader Inquiry Advocated

Current intergovernmental relations studies inadequate to solve overlapping; states blamed for big government.

By CHARLES S. RHYNE*

TWO NEW federal commissions have just launched investigations which could lead to far-reaching changes in federal, state and local relationships. These are the Commission on Organization of the Executive Branch of the Government (Hoover Commission No. II) and the Commission on Intergovernmental Relations. The Hoover commission is to whittle down the size of the federal government by recommending elimination of functions found to be unnecessary and by devising means for increasing the efficiency of other functions. The intergovernmental commission is to study the grants-in-aid programs involving federal funds for state and local governments. This then is a most appropriate time to take a look at this important field.

Some authorities estimate that today we have approximately 175,000 separate legal entities or units of government in the United States. These range downward from the federal government to the states, territories, counties, cities, towns, boroughs, parishes, townships, special districts, commissions, boards and authorities of many kinds. The relationships embraced in so many units of government are practically unending in number, complexity and variety. Each governmental unit acts and reacts upon the other for no government can operate in a vacuum.

The vast increase in intergovernmental relationships is an increase which has flowed directly from the basic demands of an expanding nation. When this nation came into being the pattern of intergovernmental relationships was a comparatively simple one. In the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries there was little need for extensive contact between levels of government.

To assess the problems created by this increase in intergovernmental relations it seems well to state the major problems which exist at each level of government and then to relate these problems to the entire field of intergovernmental relations.

The Federal Government

As for the federal government, the problem is one of "bigness" and what to do about it, with its accompanying load of burdensome taxation which funnels one out of every four dollars earned into the national treasury. From 592,000 employees in 1932 the federal government has grown to 2,666,000 employees; from a total budget of \$4,700,000,000 in 1932 to a total budget of about \$72,000,000,000 in 1953; from a total of \$1,889,000,000 in tax collections in 1932 to more than \$65,000,000,000 in 1952.

With the expansion in forms of

^{*}Mr. Rhyne, member of the Washington, D. C., Bar, is general counsel of the National Institute of Municipal Law Officials. This article is reprinted, in part, from *The Daily Bond Buyer* (New York) for December 14, 1953.

business organization in this country and improvements in our systems of communication and transportation. "bigness" in commerce and industry made "bigness" in our national government inevitable. You cannot set up great corporate powers that reach out into each of the 48 states and into foreign countries without setting up great power in government to insure fair play and to protect against the hazards of our economic system. You cannot via air transportation shrink nations to neighborhoods and via radio and television provide still another means of lessening vast distances without having a government which, to be effective, must be equal in size to the problem with which it is dealing.

The problem is one of elimination of unnecessary functions, a shrinking of personnel and budget to fit present needs, a more businesslike performance of functions and a giving up of functions, powers and sources of revenue so as to allow the states and cities to perform services they are best able to perform. Federal functions and services now number in the thousands. Inability or unwillingness of the states to face up to the needs of our people under modern conditions has chiefly caused this great growth in the federal government.

State Government

States dragged their feet for years as the federal government grew into a giant in comparison. State governments are for the most part dominated by rural interests and these interests have stubbornly refused to recognize the urbanization of our nation. Antiquated state constitu-

tions which give this unfair control to rural minorities have acted as a brake on state leaders who recognized the needs of urban areas. Since Congress and the federal administration are responsive to majority control, it was a natural development that the people went to those who could and would help solve the problems of our modern society. And the fact that through local government lies the quickest and surest approach to the people has not been overlooked by federal officials interested in electoral votes.

Modern economic and other problems now overflow local and state lines. And the only place a solution can be found is often in federal action. Also, modern money needs are often so large, as in the case of the depression during the 30s, that only the federal government has the fiscal resources to meet the requirements of such needs.

The states now seem to have decided that if they are not to become mere conduits between the federal and local governments they must exercise their governmental authority and act to meet modern problems on a state level. Undoubtedly many of these problems can best be solved there. But to do so states must allow reapportionment of their legislatures so as to give city residents and rural residents representation based upon principles of equality. Minority control must end or the states will never grow up to do the job they must do if their importance in our governmental system is not to continue to dwindle and fade.

The chief development in state government has been the rise of determination by the states to prove that they can meet the challenge of current-day problems. By adoption of facilitating legislation the federal programs covering many fields, such as housing, banking, deposit insurance, social security and civilian defense, have been implemented. State commissions on interstate cooperation and interstate compacts have done much to solve metropolitan area and other problems on a state level and thus avoid federal action. Uniform laws have done much to standardize and improve state government in many fields.

Thus one finds the major problems in the states arise from antiquated constitutions, statutes and governmental organization directed toward assurance of rural control. Modernization of state government machinery and thinking to meet current needs is vitally needed. Denial of "home rule" to cities, refusal to share taxes contributed by city residents with city governments, and failure to give city residents equal representation in state legislatures with rural residents, create the major problems here.

County Government

There are a few who contend that our 3,000 county governments have outlived their usefulness and should be abolished. On the other extreme one finds advocates of solving our problems of overlapping jurisdictions of local governments by abolishing all local units of government except counties. In between are the arguments of those who say that certain functions should be taken over by the states and that others should be

handled on a metropolitan area basis by consolidation of certain functions under a regional or other metropolitan authority.

A sharpening of the tools of county government to meet the needs of modern urban society today, rather than the throwing of those time-tested tools into the waste can, could solve the problem here. We should find out what county government can do best and give it the powers and funds to perform those functions. Home rule, police powers and funds to pay for essential services have done wonders in some counties—note the experience in Montgomery County, Maryland, for example.

On county consolidation one hears reports of real success as, for example, the case of Georgia's Fulton County (Atlanta) absorbing Milton and Campbell. Denver, San Francisco and Baton Rouge are examples of city-county consolidations which are working well. Undoubtedly in spite of strong opposition there will be further consolidations. Some counties and cities are so small in area, or so weak in financial status, as to warrant such action for the good of their inhabitants.

As steps toward consolidation one finds a combination of health, police and other public services in some metropolitan areas whose economic, health and other problems overlap innumerable units of local government. Notable progress has been made in the Louisville, Philadelphia and other areas in this field. But the caution with which progress has been made in consolidating counties, or in consolidating cities and counties, indicates how jealous our people are

of their local government and its functions.

City Government

In city government one finds the chief problems arise from inability to finance adequately many of the modern-day services which their residents now demand. Denial of "home rule" and state usurpation of local powers and sources of revenue leave cities legally and financially incapable of proper solutions to many pressing problems. Few cities are coterminous with the metropolitan area of which they are a part, so many have so-called "fringe" area problems. Often residents of adjacent areas enjoy city services but pay none of the costs. Here, too, one finds many of the same arguments and suggestions which have been directed against counties applied to cities, often coupled with attacks upon the antiquated and inadequate legal powers most cities have with which to cope with modern problems.

The trend toward urbanization in our nation has been great. And the pronounced movement of recent vears toward the suburbs has not been enough in volume to affect the over-all problems resulting from this urbanization. It has been said that in 1790 our first census found our people 80 per cent rural and 20 per cent urban, but that the 1950 census found almost the reverse. Cities today are not only gigantic in size, but the ever increasing services they operate, from airports to housing, garbage, sewage, water and transportation, are tremendous in scope and variety.

Since the chief problem of cities is

money with which to pay for essential services it was only natural that they looked for that money in Washington when the states failed to meet their needs. But any real assessment of the problems of cities today will blame their major problems not upon a slackening of that aid but upon continued failure of the states to give cities essential powers, and failure of the states to share with cities the taxes the states have collected from city residents. Some state governments boast of their surpluses, while their cities are near bankruptcy.

While many illustrations exist as to the causes of specific city fiscal woes, let us examine the gasoline tax situation, and the admitted inability of many cities to finance essential street improvements. Here it is admitted that most of these taxes are paid by city residents. But this tax money is spent chiefly on rural roads. "State maintenance ends here" is still a familiar sign at the corporate limits of many cities. State highway departments are still political vehicles in some states and quite naturally favor the rural areas as there lies political control of the state governmental machinery.

Thus, one finds that lack of "home rule" and lack of equal representation with that of rural residents in state legislatures are in fact the causes of most of the major city problems today.

Federal-state Relations

Perhaps any consideration of federal-state relations should logically begin with federal grants-in-aid. While the states created the federal government and have an inter-relationship so vast as to almost defy adequate description in the fields of regulation, law enforcement, etc., such grants have become one of the most important aspects of government finance in our country and are a good starting point because of the current inquiry now being undertaken by the Commission on Intergovernmental Relations.

Prior to 1932 federal grants-in-aid were made to the states in the amount of about \$100,000,000, of which \$80,000,000 was for highways. The other \$20,000,000 was for agricultural colleges, experimental stations in the agricultural field, forest fire protection and public health. Contrast this with the growth almost yearly since then of federal grants-in-aid programs until an estimated \$2,294,000,000 was available this year in some 40 such programs—and that sum is much smaller than the amount available in past years.

Range of Studies

The Commission on Intergovernmental Relations is to study and investigate the following: The present activities in which federal aid is extended to state and local governments; the inter-relationships of financing this aid; the sources of financing governmental programs; whether justification exists for federal aid in the various fields in which such aid is extended; whether federal control with respect to these activities should be limited and, if so, to what extent; whether there are other fields in which such aid should be extended: whether federal aid should be limited to cases of need; and all

other matters incidental to such federal aid, including the ability of the federal government and the states and local governments to finance governmental activities. Out of this study may come far-reaching rearrangement of functions and programs in the fields in which federal aid is, or was, or should be, a dominant factor.

The Hoover commission will recommend elimination of services and functions which it believes states and cities can best perform. Already many utility interests have released propaganda evidently aimed at convincing this commission that certain federal regulatory powers over specific utilities should be given over to the states. In nearly every instance the reason for the adoption of federal regulatory statutes was inability of the states to control these utilities. The natural gas industry is a good example. There the constitutional inability of the states to control interstate rates caused adoption of a federal regulatory act. Now the natural gas interests want certain federal regulations scuttled, knowing full well that the states cannot step into the regulatory void thus created.

The elimination of unnecessary federal functions is a desirable thing, but such elimination where state and local governments are powerless to protect the public could be disastrous.

Unfortunately, the powers of the Hoover commission do not seem to reach over into the fields where increased federal-state cooperation could be helpful. And in some instances it would be in the public in-

terest to increase federal-state relations.

One must conclude that the Hoover and intergovernmental commissions will take only small bites at the overall picture in the field of federal-state relations. Neither commission is authorized to evaluate the whole field of government in our nation and recommend a comprehensive program looking toward the performance by each level of government of the powers and functions it can best perform in our modern society.

Federal-local Relations

Beginning in 1932 with the emergency relief loans, one finds in federal statutes, regulations and orders a gradual increase in this relationship until today it exists in some 40 federal grants-in-aid programs for purposes ranging from aid to dependent children and airports to water pollution control. In addition there are more than a hundred services available to aid local governments on subjects ranging from specifications for abattoirs (prepared by the Department of Agriculture) down the alphabet to a zoning ordinance (prepared by the Department of Commerce).

It is certainly true that from the first mention of local government in federal legislation in 1932, in the emergency relief act of that year, direct relationships between federal and local government have increased tremendously. And, as already stated, it is generally conceded that these direct federal-local relations were a natural development from the failure of state governments to meet the problems of our times.

If the intergovernmental commission recommends that certain grantsin-aid programs be abandoned the effect on local government should not be ignored. For any abandonment of federal aid must be accompanied by a corresponding relinquishment of tax sources now preempted by Congress, and relinquishment in such a way that the tax sources can be reached by local government. If experience is any guide it will take years of effort for local government to wrest any new revenues, or new revenue sources, from the states, or to secure state grants-in-aid to replace those abandoned by the federal government.

The whole story of federal-local relationships is not secured by an examination of the federal grants-inaid programs. Cities appear constantly before such agencies as the Federal Power Commission, seeking fair treatment of their residents on natural gas and electrical rate matters, before the Federal Communications Commission on telephone rates, radio and television matters and before innumerable other agencies on hundreds of subjects. Here again there are fields where more federallocal cooperation would be fruitful. One example is in the field of enforcing regulations prohibiting interference with radio and television reception.

And it must not be forgotten that since the chief problem of cities is that of finding the money with which to finance essential local services, the fact that the federal government siphons off the chief tax resources of each city may not be overlooked. It has been pointed out, for example,

that residents of Kansas City, Missouri, pay \$250,000,000 in federal income taxes alone but only \$27,000,000 to the city for all local services.

In carrying out the laudable goal of restoring a balance to the relationships between federal, state and local governments by whittling down federal bureaucracy and lessening centralized government, it is therefore submitted that the meat-ax approach cannot be used. There is a danger that the shifting of responsibility without an adequate and timely redistribution of functions and areas of potential revenue may do serious damage to essential governmental services. The Hoover and intergovernmental commissions are delving into highly complex, intricate and, in some respects, sharply controversial fields with respect to activities, sources of revenue and countless other factors and actions which have confused the basic and constitutional relationship of our triple-layer form of government. These commissions have important, pressing and gigantic tasks. It is to be hoped that in their desire to cut down the size and functions of the federal government-a goal which all applaud—they will not ignore the effect on local government. And their evaluation of this effect should take into consideration the relative inability of local government in most states to secure fair treatment from state legislatures.

State-local Relationships

The fortunes of local government are inextricably entwined with those of the state. State action or inaction can mean success or failure for local

government in many ways. Over and over again it has been emphasized that disuse of powers by the states forced federal action to meet social and economic problems of the past twenty years—even forcing the federal government to go beyond what many of us would conceive as national areas of concern. That inaction by the states on these problems forced action on a national level can hardly be disputed. Where the problems were too great for local solution and the states did not act, the federal government was the only instrumentality available to act. At times local government had to go directly to the federal government because it was upon the city and county officials that the demands of the people were made. These local officials are easiest for the people to reach and the first to realize local needs.

And the states are awakening to the fact that they cannot continue to roll up surpluses (as some have) while their local governments are poverty stricken. We find today on the state level a tremendous increase in so-called "shared taxes." A total of \$4,702,000,000 was returned to local government by the states last year. State governments have been driven by the demands of local officials-chiefly by the excellent and ever growing state leagues of cities -to a realization of the fact that they must utilize their more facile powers of taxation to raise revenues and funnel those revenues back to local government if the needs of their people in the world of today are to be met. The only trouble is that in many states the idea of "shared taxes" has not been accepted to any appreciable extent.

"Home rule" for local government is the most needed development in the field of local-state relationships. State officials who cry out against centralization in Washington when they are centralizing everything in their state under themselves are inconsistent to say the least. The principles apply equally in each case. Centralization of government is fatal to personal liberty. And democracy cannot be imposed from the top—it must well up from the bottom.

Existing home rule clauses in constitutions have been weak barriers against the state's inroads on local rights. Constant attempts to emancipate local government from state control have often been scuttled by the courts. A model "home rule" constitutional provision which cannot be destroyed by any process of erosion is one of the great needs in this field. The recent draft prepared by Dean Jefferson B. Fordham, of the University of Pennsylvania Law School, for the American Municipal Association offers an answer.

Perhaps the most fundamental reason for inequity in treatment of local government is found in the disproportionate representation of urban and rural elements in our state legislatures. A great step forward would be taken if this inequity and one-sidedness in representation were corrected. Local autonomy will remain only a dream for most local governments so long as this situation stands as it is now (in most states).

Our big problem today is to de-

velop a map for the road ahead for government on each level.

Government is as old as people. But the machinery of government has not kept pace with the people it serves. The last twenty years have been a period of swiftly changing emphasis in the apportionment of authority among the different levels of government. The development has been haphazard—often from one emergency to the next. No clear line of policy has emerged with respect to the distribution of authority.

What we need to bring order out of the maze of overlapping and conflicting intergovernmental relationships is a study of our whole governmental structure, a study not limited to the federal government, as is the Hoover commission, or to federal aid programs, as is the intergovernmental relations commission.

It has been truly said, "Where there is no vision, the people perish." This proposal is one for the development of an informed vision on this business of government in our nation. Tremendous changes are taking place. No one knows more than a small part of what is happening in government along a dozen fronts. Present efforts are being made by the slow and expensive methods of trial and error. Important consequences are incidental and even accidental. There is no plan. And there should be one to guide the course of events in the whole field of intergovernmental relations in the future.

But before any plan can be made we must secure much more basic information than we have now. Hence, the proposal for this over-all study of government in the United States.

¹Model Constitutional Provisions for Municipal Home Rule. Washington, D. C., 1953.

Indiana Still Seeks Home Rule

Constitutional amendment, adopted by 1953 legislature, must be passed again in 1955 and submitted to voters.

By CARL L. HEYERDAHL*

THE INDIANA legislature has taken an initial step toward giving home rule powers to the state's cities and towns. At present local governments are permitted no choice in the form of government they may have. They derive all their powers from state laws which specify the form of government for the several types of local political subdivisions. Counties must operate under boards of county commissioners, townships and towns under a trustee system and cities are limited to the mayor-council form of government. These laws also provide in detail for the powers and duties of local public officials.

Local units must take many issues which concern them alone to the General Assembly for legislative action. It goes without saying that time spent by legislators over local questions cannot be devoted to issues of statewide importance. Furthermore, if a problem demanding attention arises shortly after the end of a legislative session, the community must wait nearly two years to get the necessary authority to deal with it.

The arguments advanced in other states for home rule apply equally to Indiana. In the first place, home rule would introduce the generally accepted principle of self-determination. Cities differ in many ways. They vary in size of population and area, in their need for governmental services, in their local customs and traditions and in their interests. A charter suitable for a large city is not feasible for a small one. Cities located on rivers may have problems of flood control while others may be suffering from water shortages. Problems relating to schools, recreation, traffic, crime, sanitation and others vary from city to city. It seems a reasonable argument that the residents of a community have the greatest interest and are best equipped to solve their special local problems and thus satisfy their local needs and desires.

In the second place, home rule applies the federal principle to state government. Since this principle has worked advantageously in many respects on a national scale, why not also on a state basis? Various experiments in local government would then be possible. And if constitutional home rule were established it would militate against too much centralization of power in the state government. It should also increase popular interest and participation in governmental affairs.

In the third place, home rule would give the legislature more time for matters of statewide importance. This is especially true in Indiana where biennial sessions are limited to a period of 61 days.

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An analysis of the work of the 1953 General Assembly well demonstrates the importance of this third argument for home rule. A total of 874 bills was introduced in the two houses of the legislature. Of these bills, 297 passed both houses, 577 failed and 14 were vetoed by the governor and not repassed by the legislature. Thus, 283 laws were enacted.

While in some laws it is difficult to draw the line exactly between what is state and what is local, an analysis of the 1953 acts indicates that 161 deal with state affairs or matters of statewide concern and 122 relate to local matters pertaining to counties, cities, towns, townships and schools, including many which are the equivalent of special laws for particular localities only.

Legislature in Local Affairs

A number of examples can be found to point up the loss of precious time to the legislature. Required under the present arrangement to act as a super-board of county commissioners, the General Assembly authorized counties to establish and operate dumps; authorized them to require licensing of all horse-drawn vehicles, except agricultural implements, at an annual fee of one dollar: permitted the coroner of St. Joseph County to hire deputies, investigators and office employees; empowered county surveyors to order repair, cleaning or spraying of any public drain or ditch and to assess the land owners benefiting therefrom; authorized county councils to appropriate money from general funds to reimburse county treasurers for money lost as the result of burglaries;

allowed county commissioners of any county to contribute up to \$500 to join with a city in construction of a dog pound; authorized county plan commissions or county commissioners to erect signs showing numbers of county roads and to prepare maps or charts designating county roads.

Forced to act as a super-city council the legislature passed laws permitting city clerk-treasurers in cities of the fourth and fifth classes to be paid extra for keeping records of parking meter collections; granted the Evansville city council and school board permission to raise the appropriation for the city's public museum; allowed the city of Hammond to establish a cumulative sinking fund to pay for its portion of grade separation or alteration costs; reduced from 2,000 to 1,500 the population necessary for a town to become a fifth class city (this was primarily to permit Butler to become a city); allowed slum clearance in cities through the creation of a redevelopment commission similar to the one already existing in Indianapolis; and increased Indianapolis police pensions to make them equal to firemen's pensions.

Obligated to act as a super-township trustee or super-town board, the General Assembly permitted such local officials to have Canadian thistles destroyed and to charge ten dollars a day plus expenses if the owner of the land failed to destroy them; granted township trustees power to buy real estate for cemetery use and to raise the amount of the perpetual care fund to maintain such cemeteries (town boards were given similar powers); established a salary range of \$1,200 to \$3,600 per annum for the justice of the peace of Center Township, Howard County, and a salary range of \$800 to \$2,400 for the constable of the same township; increased the salary of the justice of the peace of Center Township, Delaware County, and raised his allowance for supplies; and increased from eight feet to eight feet, six inches, the width allowed for buses operated in cities and towns or counties of more than 160,000 population.

Is it not obvious that a county is capable of deciding whether or not to establish and operate a dump or to join with a city to construct a dog-pound? Cannot a fifth-class city itself determine whether to pay an official extra for keeping additional records? Surely a township is able to deal with the problem of removing thistles. It should not be necessary to burden the state legislature with questions of such strictly local concern. A session of 61 days is brief enough to deal with matters of state-wide interest

Home Rule Law

The movement to secure some form of home rule in Indiana is not a recent development. In 1921 advocates of the council-manager form of government were successful in getting the General Assembly to enact a law permitting cities to adopt this type of government. Michigan City adopted it and operated under the plan until 1929. Evansville and Indianapolis were in the process of selecting this type of government when the law was challenged in the courts. A case from Evansville questioned the procedure for calling an election in that city to decide the question of adopting a manager form of government. The court early in 1929 held the law valid.

Later, in the same year, another attack was made on the law, this time from Indianapolis, and in this case the law was declared invalid by a divided court. The issue involved was the procedure used in calling the election to determine whether Indianapolis should adopt a council-manager form of government. city clerk was authorized to check the petition of those asking an election to see whether the signers were duly qualified electors. He was given only five days for this examination and the court held that the clerk could not check 19,000 signatures in so short a period. This impossibility of checking 19,000 names in five days made the law special in form in the eves of the court and therefore unconstitutional.

Ten years later, primarily in response to pressure from the Junior Chamber of Commerce and the League of Women Voters, the General Assembly passed a resolution setting up a City Manager Study Commission. The commission, composed of seven members, was duly organized and held ten meetings, one of them an open meeting at which individuals and representatives of organized groups appeared to present their views. After examining the plans of other states the commission recommended adoption of a constitutional amendment providing for home rule rather than the enactment of a new law which would have to be carefully framed to meet the objections of the State Supreme Court. The text of the amendment submitted by the commission, much shortened in form, was passed by the 1941 General Assembly. But in Indiana amendments to the constitution must be passed by two successive legislatures and, in 1943, the foes of home rule succeeded in defeating the second passage of the proposal.

The issue was not pressed during the war years but in 1949 the original amendment drafted by the 1939 study commission was introduced into the General Assembly. It was referred to a committee and not reported on until the last three days of the session, which proved too late to get action.

In 1951 nothing further could be done by the legislature since other amendments were pending, and in Indiana no new amendments may be introduced while others are awaiting second passage.

Legislature Acts

But an indication that legislative thinking may be inclining to a more favorable attitude toward home rule is evidenced by the action of the 1953 General Assembly, which passed and referred to the 1955 legislature a joint resolution incorporating, verbatim, the home rule constitutional amendment proposed by the 1939 City Manager Study Commission. This amendment would permit cities and towns to choose their own form of local government by holding charter conventions to draft and adopt charters. To preserve the principle of popular government the amendment requires that the voters must decide the question of holding a charter convention, select the members thereof and approve the charter

after it is prepared by the convention.

Provision is also made for local amending of the charter, once it is formulated and adopted. The amendment lists five groups of powers which may be exercised by cities and towns subject only to the restrictions imposed by the constitutions of Indiana and the United States. These powers authorize any city or town to prescribe its form of government, to exercise control over its personnel. to determine the organizational setup by which to carry out its municipal functions, to determine its own rules relative to selection, term, compensation, hours of work, and dismissal of officials and employees, and to provide for recall of elective officials.

Unlike home rule amendments in a number of states, the proposed amendment does not permit a city or town to determine which functions of local self-government it cares to exercise. The determination of these functions still remains with the General Assembly. In addition, the amendment does not extend to all units of local government—it does not apply to counties or townships. It will not relieve the legislature from dealing with all local problems. It is a long way from complete home rule.

But it is a step in the right direction and it is to be hoped that the proposed amendment will be agreed to by the 1955 General Assembly and approved by the voters at the general election in 1956.

Most recent development in the problem was the appointment by Governor Craig in December 1953 of a commission of 21 members,

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Pre-primary Trial Dropped

Nebraska's nominating experiment, designed to foster party responsibility, has been repealed after ten years.

By ADAM CARLYLE BRECKENRIDGE*

NEBRASKA'S pre-primary convention statute, which its supporters had hoped would combine some of the better features of the old nominating convention with the more democratic features of the direct primary, was repealed by the legislature last year.

What this statute actually did during its short life-enacted in 1943 and effective for the elections of 1946, 1948, 1950 and 1952-was to take control over nominations a step away from the voters and make it difficult for any candidate who could not get a party endorsement to get the party nomination. As its supporters hoped, it appears that this feature did produce a greater measure of party discipline and responsibility for making nominations. It did so without supplanting final control by the rank and file of the voters. There is some evidence, however, that it may have made some contribution to party disunity.

Thus, after a brief experiment, Nebraska found the cure for the uncertainties of the direct primary more unpalatable than the disease.

From the beginning there has been a struggle to make our political institutions as truly representative as possible. Effort has centered upon making these institutions more re-

The political party convention was a natural outgrowth of the caucus. but it failed, as did its predecessor. in the task of designating candidates for ultimate voter selection. It, too, was run by the masters of the political arts, or at least near masters, most of the time. Frequently these individuals were unscrupulous and turned their position of control over the party machinery to their own advantage. Some of these abuses were brought into check during the latter part of the nineteenth century. The major shortcomings of the caucus, convention and indirect primary were routed for a time by the direct primary. Here, it was claimed, was a system wherein the voters, as party members, would make the selections for and in the name of the party. The powers of the party leaders who dominated the conventions were presumably doomed.

But the direct primary did not succeed in erasing all the objections of the caucus or convention. The hope was that men with qualities of leadership, high purpose and integrity, men whose interest was the public interest, would be selected, *i.e.*, nominated. Critics of the direct

sponsible to the people. The search to improve election machinery has centered often upon solutions to some of the abuses of the political party caucus. From this has come the direct primary, the presumed ultimate at the time it swept the country.

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primary believed that inferior candidates would be selected and, indeed, there is no conclusive evidence that these critics were entirely wrong.

The chief complaint against the direct primary was that it would destroy party responsibility or that, under the most favorable conditions, responsibility would be weakened. If party responsibility was broken, the people would not be able to select between or among political parties or place properly responsibility for the actions of the officials so elected who wore the party label. Why? Because the primary permitted anyone meeting the most limited requirements to be put on the party ballot as its nominee. The party leaders and spokesmen for the "organization" of the party, those with the feel of the party pulse, would not have any great influence over the nominee or his decisions. Or, at best, their influence might be strictly limited. So, how could the voter complain to the party? It seemed that the voters were defeating themselves.

Convention Abuses

One of the abuses of the conventions was that the bosses and factions controlled the party machinery and thereby controlled nominations. But with the direct primary there was nothing to prevent the leaders of the party from meeting, exchanging views and, following some agreement, announcing their preferences to the voters by whatever medium was available.

The primary enhanced rather than diminished intra-party conflicts. Party responsibility was demanded, indeed necessary, and there was no effective substitute for it. Some of the party leaders realized that the direct primary was here to stay and they looked to other methods to modify what they considered its undesirable features. But the trend was against them. Indeed, they found the demand strong for a "free" primary ballot.

Some legislatures provided the open primary, others liberalized it by removing requirements for party loyalty. Elsewhere the nonpartisan primary was introduced for some state and many local offices. Minnesota and Nebraska now have legislatures nominated and elected on a nonpartisan ballot. California authorized the cross-filing method, whereby a candidate can file not only for the nomination of his own party but also for any other party and receive the nomination from each of them. Washington has the blanket primary which breaks down party lines even more.

Thus political party leaders found themselves beaten at almost every encounter.

But all was not hopeless. Why not have a pre-primary convention? Apparently South Dakota is credited with the first effort at combining some of the features of the old nominating conventions and direct primary with a pre-primary convention. A statute of 1917 provided that candidates could be designated by such a convention and placed on the primary election ballot. This was abandoned in 1929. Minnesota, a pre-primary convention can make nominations. There the convention endorses candidates who are to be voted upon "by voters of the entire state." This endorsement does not appear on the ballot, nor are the endorsed candidates given any position preference. Other candidates may seek nomination by means of petitions.

Massachusetts adopted a similar law in 1932, abandoned it in 1937, and readopted it in 1953, to be effective in 1954. This law provides for nominating candidates for offices to be filled by "all the voters of the commonwealth." The conventions which are authorized may place candidates in nomination without the necessity of the usual filing papers such as the petition requires. This law goes further than the statutes of the other states indicated above. The name of the endorsed candidate is openly favored for against his name on the ballot are the words "Endorsed by (name of political party) Convention." This law was used during the primary elections of 1934 and 1936 and will be used again commencing with the primary of 1954. Here, as in Minnesota, other candidates may file through the use of petitions.

Colorado provides for a single ballot at a pre-primary convention and the names of all those receiving 20 per cent or more of the votes of the convention are put on the ballot. Utah provided for a pre-primary convention in 1947. But the ballots do not carry any indication of the endorsement, a feature which is not essential in Utah since the two candidates for each office receiving the highest number of votes at the party convention are the only ones which appear on the ballot. No provision is made for nomination by petition.

Rhode Island enacted her first direct primary law in 1948 and it

has some of the features of the earlier Nebraska law. In Rhode Island the names of candidates having the endorsement of their political party committees are printed "in the first column at the right of the title of the offices they seek" and each is identified with an asterisk. In the 1948 campaign the endorsed candidates were referred to as the "first column" candidates and the unendorsed candidates were called the "insurgents" or "second column" candidates.¹

Pre-primary Authorized

Beginning with the primary election of 1946 each of the two major parties—Republican and Democrat—held a pre-primary convention, as well as district conventions, biennially, "on the eighth Tuesday preceding the holding of the general state-

^{&#}x27;For an account of this primary see "Rhode Island Tries Primary," by Richard S. Childs, the Review, March 1949, page 126. For a detailed analysis of the various state schemes for nominations, see "A New Primary System," by Joseph P. Harris, State Government, July 1948, page 140, and his report for the National Municipal League, A Model Direct Primary Election System, 1951.

wide primary election." This convention was authorized to make endorsements for "all party, state and national officers for which nomination or election at large is to be made at the forthcoming primary election." The candidates who were chosen under this plan would be the endorsed candidates of the convention for the statewide offices.

A district convention, held at the same time for each congressional district, was provided to perform the same functions for members of the House of Representatives and delegates and alternates to the national party convention.

The statute permitted the endorsement of not more than two candidates for each office, provided they received at least 25 per cent of the votes cast at the convention. This 25 per cent provision was raised to 35 per cent in 1949 and the restriction of nominating not more than two candidates for each office was eliminated. The chairman of the Republican state committee said at the time these changes were made that the best features of the preprimary convention were ended. Apparently he believed it would put too many endorsed candidates in the field. Actually, it did not do so.

In the preparation of the ballots, the names of the unendorsed candidates, if any, were to be rotated, but the pre-primary convention choices retained their respective places at the top and in the order of convention preference.

The critics of the endorsement plan claimed that it reduced the direct primary to a secondary and perfunctory role. But the absence of an endorsement on the ballot does not prevent a strong party organization from bringing decisive influence to bear upon the voters in the primary. It is obvious that the party managers will have substantial influence upon the voter regardless of any endorsement feature. They have done so for many an election long before the endorsement feature was known.

Nebraska election statistics show that organization candidates sponsored by the pre-primary convention almost always won the nominations. It is true, however, that of opposition candidates filed, some won and others showed surprising strength. But it is not conclusive that the endorsement label on the ballot alone was the key to success. The system did not operate long enough. Many of the candidates were incumbents and got endorsements easily. Most of them would have won anyway. They were better known to the voters and, if the formality of the pre-primary had not existed, it is altogether likely that the state party committee, for example, would have given the "nod" to those candidates it preferred and that such information would have trickled down to the party workers throughout the state.

Passing the Word Along

Is it not desirable that the voter know these preferences of the party leaders? Is it not better to have these desires known openly and unmistakenly than to presume upon rumor? Is not the open endorsement more plausible and desirable than the whispered word passed down to the faithful? There is plenty of

evidence that this was the standard practice without the pre-primary convention: for the party leaders to assemble, discuss candidates, the platform, party strategy and then agree upon those hopefuls they would support in the coming primary. The extent to which this support was transferred to the voters is not easily determined. Similarly, there is no conclusive evidence that the undesirable features of the old convention system did dominate the pre-primary conventions in Nebraska as some have claimed. There is some evidence, of course, that some endorsements were so controlled, but the restrictive features of limiting them to two candidates for any one office were removed in 1949.

In some elections no more than one candidate for a particular office was given an endorsement. During the last two primaries, 1950 and 1952, any candidate receiving 35 per cent of the convention support was to receive such an endorsement. Yet, there was nothing to force the delegates to give that much support however great the field of aspirants. Even so, there were choices most of the time for the voter from among the endorsed candidates.

Did the pre-primary endorsement plan strengthen the political party where it had been weakened presumably by the direct primary? It seems to have strengthened the influence of the party managers, if no other.

The endorsement feature removed the system of tacit understandings and gave wide berth to those candidates favored by the party organization. The decisions of candidate preferences were announced and the vote reported as required by the statute. Finally, of course, the endorsement appeared on the ballot below the candidate's name.

The failure of a candidate to receive the required percentage of convention votes did not prevent him from having his name on the ballot. He could obtain a place on the ballot through petition. But the Democrats, for example, usually would endorse but one candidate for each office. This caused some dissatisfaction in that party. Without the endorsement most candidates fell by the wayside either by withdrawing or by defeat at the polls after a limited campaign.

One close observer of the preprimary endorsement feature stated prior to the repeal of the law that "whatever may have been the original objectives, say a sincere effort to eliminate 'name' candidates and to give more effective expression to responsible party leadership, the fact remains it simply has not worked out."²

Convention Choices Win.

The preferences of the convention usually won in the four elections where the pre-primary convention was used in Nebraska.³ But the first choice did not always win. There are instances where a candidate with an endorsement, even a reluctant

²Editorial in *The Lincoln Star*, April 6, 1953, page 4.

^{*}Statistical data compiled from various issues of the Omaha World-Herald, The Lincoln Star and The Nebraska State Journal. The primary election vote data is contained in the Official Report of the Nebraska State Canvassing Board, compiled by the Secretary of State for each election in question.

second choice, defeated another who got first place and this by heavy majorities. In 1946, the first year it was used, an unendorsed candidate for governor on the Republican ticket outran the endorsed second choice of the convention by 39.911 to 16,062. The first choice won the nomination, however. In 1948, two candidates for lieutenant governor were endorsed by the Republicans. Denney received 235 votes to 144 for Warner. In the primary election Warner won by a vote of two to one over Denney. In the same year, two candidates for Railway Commission were endorsed by the Republicans. Knickrehm received 197 votes to 171 for Larson. In the primary Larson won 70,623 to 53,857. For short term in the Railway Commission, Viren received 256 votes to 105 for Palmer, but Palmer won the nomination 75,119 to 32,158! Two years later. Knickrehm was again endorsed by the Republican convention for Railway Commission with 188 votes to 147 for Palmer. But Palmer won over Knickrehm 55,094 to 35,112.

Democratic Experience

The Democrats, the minority party in Nebraska most of the time, usually endorsed but a single candidate for each office. He usually won the nomination easily. At the convention of 1950, two candidates were endorsed for governor. Morrison received 174 votes to 143 for Raecke. Raecke won the nomination with Morrison running third. Second place went to an unendorsed candidate who was just 1,200 votes behind Raecke. The same year the Democrats endorsed Schlater for Railway

Commission but he was defeated in the primary by the unendorsed candidate, McReynolds. Schlater ran third with second place going to another unendorsed candidate.

In the last election, 1952, the first choice of the Republican convention for lieutenant governor, Hoyt, received 245 votes to 171 for the incumbent, Warner. Warner won the nomination 135,881 to 55,339. The same year, for secretary of state, the incumbent Pittenger, who was filling out a term by appointment, received 334 votes to 39 for Marsh who was the son of the recently deceased secretary. But although Marsh did not receive the endorsement he won the nomination by 108,437 to 86,086. Here, in this case, a "name" candidate won. For attorney general, the incumbent, Beck, received 188 votes to 195 for Towle, with Beck winning by 116,161 to 68,150.

Thus, preference by the pre-primary convention does not insure success. Perhaps with some of the familiar incumbents passing from the scene in a few years, the endorsement feature might have suffered more defections than it did. But the legislature would not have it that way.

Since the Republican party is usually dominant in Nebraska the primary election has become a real battleground. It seems that many voters affiliate with that party in order to have their ballots affect the outcome of the general election. Just how many of these additional voters in the Republican party are temporary, only to switch in Novem-

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News in Review

City, State and Nation

Edited by H. M. Olmsted

Government Ethics Code Proposed in New York Regulations Drafted for Inquiries and Officials

A CODE of fair procedure for legislative investigations and similar special inquiries, and a code of ethics for legislators and public officials, were recommended to the New York State legislature on March 8 and 10, respectively, by the Special Legislative Committee on Ethics in Government, comprised of eight legislators and four "public" members appointed by Governor Thomas E. Dewey. It is headed by Charles C. Lockwood, former state judge.

The code for investigations would be incorporated partly in the civil rights law and partly in the legislative law. The latter would include a provision that no temporary state commission having more than two members shall have power to take testimony at a public or private hearing unless at least two of its members are present.

The remaining portions, to be added to the civil rights law, would:

Afford a witness the right at any hearing to be accompanied by counsel who would be permitted to advise the witness of his rights, subject to reasonable limitations to prevent obstruction of or interference with the orderly conduct of the hearing.

Afford a witness the right to file a brief sworn statement relevant to his testimony for incorporation in the record.

Afford any person whose name was mentioned at a public hearing and who believed the testimony adversely affected him the right to testify or file a statement of facts under oath relating solely to material relevant to the testimony of which he complained.

Permit a witness to obtain a copy of his testimony given at a public hearing and his testimony given at a private hearing, if available, where the testimony became relevant in a criminal procedure or subsequent hearing, provided that the furnishing of such copy would not prejudice the public safety or security.

Make it a misdemeanor for any member of an investigating agency, its counsel or employees, to make public the testimony taken at a private hearing without the consent of a majority of the investigating committee or, in the case of a single-member agency, without the consent of the head of the agency.

Substantial non-compliance by any agency as to major provisions of the code would relieve a witness of the compulsion to testify.

The New York Times stated editorially on March 10 that this code, despite some omissions and possible defects, "sets a fine example for Congress, where it is more needed than it is in this state."

A proposed bill prohibiting certain acts or practices would:

Forbid any officer or employee of a state agency, or any legislator, to appear in any manner before a state agency wherein his compensation would be based on a contingent fee;

Forbid any such person to sell goods to any state agency unless after public notice and competitive bidding;

Forbid for two years after leaving a state agency any former officer or employee to appear before that agency in matters in which he was directly concerned or in which he personally participated during his public employment.

No code for the conduct of officers of political parties was recommended but the committee proposed legislation barring them from serving as judge of courts of record, attorney general, district attorney or assistant district attorney.

Besides these specific prohibitions, a violation of which would constitute a misdemeanor, the code of ethics, a separate bill, sets forth the following rule with respect to conflicts of interest:

"No officer or employee of a state agency, member of the legislature or legislative employee should have any interest, financial or otherwise, direct or indirect, or engage in any business or transaction or professional activity or incur any obligation of any nature, which is in substantial conflict with the proper discharge of his duties in the public interest."

This is further detailed by setting up ten standards dealing with various types of conflicts of interest, and condemning disclosures of confidential information gained in the course of official duties, and the use of official position to obtain unwarranted privileges or exemptions. They include a provision that any state official with a direct or indirect financial interest of \$10,000 or more in any activity subject to jurisdiction of a regulatory agency should file a statement to that effect with the secretary of state, to be open to public inspection.

The legislature was asked to adopt resolutions to make committees of four members of the Senate and Assembly, respectively, responsible for the effectiveness of the code. An Advisory Committee on Ethical Standards would be formed by the attorney general to check on the conduct of officers and employees of state agencies, and recommend dismissals in case of code violations. The legislative committees could recommend prosecution for misdemeanors or votes of censure by either house if a member is found guilty of misconduct.

Senator Thomas C. Desmond of Newburgh, veteran watchdog of governmental practices, criticized the committee for not completely barring legislators from taking pay for representing clients before state agencies, and asserted it was "unrealistic" to call upon the Senate and Assembly to sit in judgment on the conduct of their members.

U. S. Senate Leaders Suggest Fair Play Code

A uniform code of procedure for committees of investigation was put forward on March 10 by Republican Senate leaders as a guide for such committees. No method of enforcement was proposed. It provides that no committee or subcommittee should hear a subpoenaed witness or take testimony unless a majority of its members is present, or unless the committee decides that a majority member and a minority member together constitute a quorum; and that no confidential testimony or material presented in an executive hearing of an investigating committee or subcommittee, or any report of the proceeding, shall be made public unless authorized by a majority of the members.

No investigating subcommittee would be established except by the majority of the main committee. No investigating committee or subcommittee could delegate authority to issue subpoenas except by a vote of such body; and no hearings would be initiated without specific authorization by the body. A hearing outside of Washington would require a majority vote.

Any witness summoned to a hearing could be accompanied by counsel, who would advise him of his legal rights.

Following these suggestions, Democratic Senators Douglas and Humphrey and independent Senator Morse proposed, as matters of ethics, that members of Congress and all other federal officials who are paid \$10,000 or more per annum file sworn public statements of outside income; that no former congressmen or officials should appear before government agencies to seek contracts, other business or favors; and that former congressmen

should not go on the Senate or House floors to lobby. Special restrictions were proposed as to officials handling government contracts, loans, licenses, etc., and to prevent the use of gifts or favors to obtain special treatment or confidential information.

A commission of fifteen members—nine from outside the government—to study and report on the moral standards of official conduct of officers and employees, was also urged.

State Reorganization Makes Slow Progress in Minnesota

A report of the Minnesota Citizens Committee for the Little Hoover Report is concerned with past and prospective legislative action on recommendations of the Minnesota Efficiency in Government Commission. It states that few bills in line with the recommendations were adopted by the 1951 and 1953 legislatures but that much educational groundwork was done and that efforts will be continued in preparation for the next legislative session, in 1955.1

Pointing out that the commission had made 205 recommendations, the report announced that several of its minor policy recommendations have become law and some departmental reorganizations have been completed by executive orders. In particular, the health and agriculture departments were mentioned as having been revamped along lines suggested by the commission. A major victory was achieved in the 1953 session when the Public Institutions and Social Welfare Departments were consolidated into a Department of Public Welfare, at an estimated annual saving of \$100,000.

The Legislative Research Committee was assigned a study of the Little Hoover Report along with its other duties but, in accordance with its established policy, it made no recommendations.

The Citizens Committee report urges that the next legislature, early in the session, set up a special committee on reorganization, to give study and impetus to desirable plans, and that the finance and appropriations committees should not rehear all the reasons for and against reorganization measures. It was also suggested that an interim committee of legislators be established in the future to study such matters and sponsor bills for consideration in the legislature—especially as there were no legislators on the Little Hoover Commission.

Connecticut Redistricting Two Years Too Late

By a three-to-two decision on February 15, the Connecticut Supreme Court of Errors declared unconstitutional the bill to redraw State Senate districts, passed in March 1953 by the Republican-controlled legislature. The bill had been challenged by the Democratic party on the grounds that action should have been taken in 1951 and that the 1953 district lines discriminate against the Democrats.

Connecticut law requires redistricting to be done by the legislature meeting "next after" completion of a federal census. The state attorney general argued that the last census was not fully completed until November 1951; but the court majority agreed with the Democratic contention that the census was completed by October 30, 1950.

The State Senate in 1951 was controlled by the Democrats.

No valid redistricting has occurred for 50 years. The next must now wait until 1961. Present district populations range from 25,000 up to 129,000.

Ohio and Maryland Adopt Laws for Open Meetings

The Ohio legislature has recently enacted a law requiring that all meetings of any state board, commission, agency or

¹See also "A Blueprint for Minnesota," by Leroy F. Harlow, the Review, April 1951, page 190.

authority shall be open to the public at all times, and that no resolutions, rules, regulations or formal actions of any kind shall be adopted at executive sessions.

The city council of Columbus, Ohio, followed suit by requiring that all meetings of any board, commission, department or any city agency or authority shall be open to the public at all times.

Maryland's 1954 legislature has enacted a law which goes a step farther than that of Ohio. It provides that all meetings, regular and special, of state commissions, boards and agencies, as well as all county and city boards, agencies and councils, shall be open to the public at all times.

It is reported by Editor and Publisher (March 6, 1954) that in 1953 seven states enacted laws providing for open public meetings of governing bodies, thus making a total of nine in little more than a year.

Massachusetts Bill for Open Meetings Loses

A bill before the Massachusetts legislature to require city government meetings in Springfield to be open to the public was rejected in the State Senate on March 2 by a vote of 24 to 9. Reconsideration was defeated on the following day, 18 to 4. The original proposal would have applied throughout the state, but it had been narrowed to Springfield only. The defeat was charged in part to lack of positive support by Mayor D. B. Brunton, although he announced, "As far as I'm concerned, we will have open meetings in Springfield."

Senator S. O. Conte of Pittsfield, a supporter of the bill, said that if he returns to the Senate next year he will offer a general bill to require open meetings of boards, commissions and committees in all cities and towns in accordance with the "democratic principle of the people's right to know about their government."

Automatic Vote Recording Used in Ohio Lower House

Members of the Ohio House of Representatives used machines for voting at the last special session, instead of undergoing roll calls. All 136 members voted simultaneously and their votes were recorded both on tape in the machine and on illuminated boards on opposite walls. This improved, speedy system was estimated to save as much as \$15,000 a week.

The Cleveland Citizens League, in reporting the change, notes that it had urged it more than fifteen years ago.

Reapportionment Amendment Urged in Illinois

Two co-chairmen for the Illinois Committee for Constitutional Revision, which will conduct a campaign for a reapportionment amendment to the state constitution, were elected on February 11 at a meeting of 25 statewide organizations at the Chicago Bar Association. Illinois legislative districts have not been changed since 1901, despite a constitutional requirement for redistricting after each census. It was pointed out that 2,900,000 people live in the nine largest districts and only 585,000 in the eight smallest. It is hoped that the proposed amendment will be adopted at the November 2 election.

New Jersey Building Code Makes Progress

The first two parts of a six-part state building code, in the course of preparation in New Jersey by the State Standard Building Code Advisory Committee since 1950, have been adopted by Commissioner Charles R. Erdman, Jr., of the State Department of Conservation and Economic Development at the committee's recommendation. The state code can be adopted by municipalities by reference ordinance, thus avoiding the expense of reprinting and publishing.

The two parts are: (1) general provisions and definitions and (2) structural, fire and general safety requirements. The other parts, dealing with less general matters, are still in preparation.

The code itself embraces administrative provisions, articles of enforcement and terms of required performance. It is accompanied by a manual presenting standards of design and construction provisions currently considered reasonable and adequate.

A code survey in 1952 showed that 418 of the state's 567 municipalities had some type of building code, the largest group having codes of local character.

Registration Bill Adopted in N. Y. State

Permanent personal registration is authorized in New York State, on an optional basis as to the city of New York and each upstate county, in a bill of the Republican administration which the State Assembly approved on March 17 after similar action by the Senate.

A voter where the plan is adopted would remain on the election rolls after once registering, if his address remains unchanged and he votes once in every two years. Safeguards in the bill have been criticized as so rigorous and costly as to militate against wide adoption of permanent registration.

Training for Southern Public Personnel Officials

The Southern Regional Conference of the Civil Service Assembly and the Bureau of Public Administration, University of Tennessee, are sponsoring a four-day training institute for public personnel officers, June 8-11, at the University of Tennessee in Knoxville. It includes a two-day session on position classification and pay, a two-day program on recruitment and classification and two evening meetings on the problems of employee relations and training programs.

Tennessee River Pollution Control Compact Drafted

Representatives of the Tennessee River basin states—Alabama, Georgia, Kentucky, Mississippi, North Carolina, Tennessee and Virginia—met in Chicago in December and drafted for submission to the state legislatures a Tennessee River Basin Water Pollution Control Compact. According to State Government, this compact is similar in some respects to the Ohio River Valley Water Sanitation Compact and is designed in part to supplement it. There are to be three commissioners from each state and three non-voting representatives of the United States government.

The commission would have power to assist the states of the basin in developing cordinated pollution control plans and in enforcing them. Provision is made for party states to handle special pollution control problems within the compact framework, such as in the case of Kentucky and Tennessee with respect to the Cumberland River.

Council-manager Plan Developments

Webster Groves, Missouri, (1950 population 23,390) adopted a council-manager charter on March 23. The vote was 3,528 to 774, the charter carrying in all precincts.

Voters of the village of Monticello, New York, (1950 population 4,223) have adopted the council-manager plan by popular referendum. The plan went into effect March 17.

In a hearing in February before the MASSACHUSETTS legislative committee on towns, general legislation to permit selectmen-manager town government was urged by various speakers but was opposed by the Massachusetts Selectmen's Association. The same committee held a hearing in RANDOLPH on February 17 on a proposed manager bill for that town.

A referendum in March on adoption of

the selectmen-manager form of government in Scituate, Massachusetts, lost by a vote of 1,506 to 1,030.

The town manager government in operation for the past three years in IPSWICH, MASSACHUSETTS, was repealed by a 79-vote margin in March. The vote was 1,657 to 1,578.

The town of CONCORD, MASSACHUSETTS, voted 1,543 to 1,383 against adoption of the selectmen-manager plan of government on February 22. The question will be voted upon again at next year's town election in February.

Charter commissioners in East Provi-DENCE, RHODE ISLAND, voted six to three on March 3 to draft a council-manager charter for the town. They also adopted a resolution, seven to one, asking the town's legislative representatives to introduce legislation for off-year nonpartisan elections.

The representative town meeting in GREENWICH, CONNECTICUT, voted on March 2 to retain the board of selectmen form of administration but recommended that it be supplemented by a trained, full-time chief administrative officer. Permission of the state legislature is said to be needed. This plan represents a compromise from the town manager plan proposed by the former reorganization committee.

A bill has been introduced in the VIR-GINIA legislature to amend the charter of Big Stone Gap so as to provide for a manager, appointed by a five-member council, superseding the present mayorcouncil form. The bill was introduced at the request of the present six-man council, but much local opposition is reported.

In an election on March 2, voters of Leranon, Missouri, retained the council-manager plan by a vote of 1,045 to 728

A group of citizens in MINOT, NORTH DAKOTA, has revived the question of a change from council-manager government to the commission form. Such a move was defeated in 1950 by a vote of 3,355 to 2,253, and under state law four years must elapse before another election on the subject.

On March 18 the voters of SIOUX FALLS, SOUTH DAKOTA, defeated a proposal that the city employ a city manager, by a margin of five to three.

Petitions have been circulated in Lex-INGTON, NEBRASKA, asking an election on the question of abandoning the councilmanager plan.

The city council of Sparks, Nevada, has postponed until January 18, 1955, a special election on adoption of the council-manager plan, proposed in petitions sponsored by the chamber of commerce. The latter is reported to have acceded to the delay.

The Port Townsend, Washington, Leader reports much interest in the possibility of a change to council-manager government.

The voters of SAN CLEMENTE, CALI-FORNIA, will pass upon the question of adopting the council-manager plan at the April 13 municipal election.

Boston Reorganization Fosters Efficient Administration

The city council of Boston, Massachusetts, has approved a reorganization plan embodied in three ordinances that will be in full effect by June 30, 1954. The number of city departments responsible to the mayor is compressed from 36 into 21, and a new administrative services department is set up as a topside management control agency for the mayor.

This new department, which became effective January 1, 1954, has taken over the city's budget, personnel and purchasing activities. It is under an administrative services board consisting of the director of administrative services, the supervisor of personnel, the purchasing agent and, ex-officio, the city auditor and city treasurer. The director is the real head of the department through his powers

over personnel and finances, despite the direct appointment of the other members of the board by the mayor. The administrative services board does, however, determine the internal organization of the department.

The director and the board are empowered to make "studies and recommendations with respect to the organization, activities, policies and procedures of all departments, boards and officers so that the administration thereof shall be economical and efficient." The director is a kind of vice mayor in charge of operations, and is the mayor's chief budget officer.

One of the most potent tools of the director is his power to review all personnel transactions—appointments, transfers, promotions, reinstatements, increases in compensation, changes in title or pay. His approval is final except where the mayor orders otherwise in writing.

The supervisor of personnel, a newly created office, maintains personnel records, studies personnel problems, employment conditions and economic changes affecting city departments, makes recommendations for improvements in personnel matters, supervises the city's compensation plans and the classification and compensation plan for county employees, and aids the director in his budget duties.

The city printing plant, now an independent department, has been placed under the purchasing agent.

The mayor's original plan for assessment organization provided for a single assessor to supervise the basic assessment operation. The reorganization ordinance provides for an assessor of taxes who will also be the chairman of a three-man board of assessors. The assessor will have administrative control of the assessing department and will administer poll and motor vehicle excise taxes, but the board of assessors will deal with property taxes under the general laws of the state. The mayor's proposal for an independent

board of review of three members, to handle the abatement of property taxes, is retained. Occupational requirements—law, real estate management and engineering—for the positions on this board were eliminated in its final draft.

Other departmental changes, effective May 1, include combining the collecting and treasury departments into a single treasury department under a collector-treasurer. The board of street commissioners is abolished and its functions are transferred to the public works department. The health department absorbs the present separate departments of registry and weights and measures. Three city hospitals are placed in a single hospital department, under an unpaid board of five trustees.

A public safety commission is set up to coordinate inspectional activities of the building, fire and health departments; it consists of the related department heads. A single real property department replaces the public buildings department and the board of real estate commissioners, which handles property acquired because of non-payment of taxes, and also administers the off-street parking program. The new department is headed by a board with a paid chairman and assistant. A new parks and recreation department takes over the present park department and the board of recreation; it is under a commission with a paid chairman.

JOSEPH S. SLAVET, Secretary Boston Municipal Research Bureau

Philadelphia Council Defers Charter-Wrecking Amendments

Proposals to submit six charter amendments, designed to weaken the merit system and encourage political activity by city employees, at the May 18 primary election, lost out in the Philadelphia city council on February 25, although receiving ten votes to seven. A two-thirds vote

¹See the Review, March 1954, page 134.

of twelve was necessary. Eight Democrats and two Republicans voted for the proposals; six Democrats and one Republican voted against them. The amendments had been offered in the council by two organization Democrats with the support of Congressman W. J. Green, Jr., Democratic city chairman. They had been vigorously attacked in the press and by good government groups. Action on them is now deferred until the November general election, when they may be submitted to popular vote.

Annexation Efforts Aided by Arizona Court Decision

Circulators of petitions for the annexation of municipal fringe areas in Arizona are not required by existing law to include in their annexation petitions a precise description of the bounds of the area to be annexed, according to a decision of the Arizona Supreme Court in February. Persons circulating petitions in the urban fringes of Phoenix and Tucson have found that the absence of exact boundary definitions gives them a greater chance of circumventing opposition within the general area whose annexation is sought. Officials of Phoenix and Tucson, defendants in the court action, welcomed the decision because of the vigorous annexation programs of the two cities and the possible effect of an adverse ruling upon areas already annexed.

PAUL KELSO

University of Arizona

Arizona City Administrators Hold Annual Meeting

Problems of municipal management were discussed at the second annual conference of the Arizona City Administrators' Association held at Mesa in February. Clarence E. Ridley, executive director of the International City Managers' Association, addressed the conferees. Administrative officials of approximately 30 cities were present. Ray W. Wilson,

city manager of Phoenix, was reelected president; J. A. Petrie, city manager of Mesa, vice president; and E. M. Pederson, city clerk of Casa Grande, secretary.

Another Bay County Poll on Voter Awareness

Professor Donald S. Hecock of Wayne University has repeated his 1950 poll in Bay County, Michigan, to measure the extent to which voters know the names of elective public officers. The 1950 poll' tested the voters' knowledge of such minor elective state offices as secretary of state, state treasurer, attorney general and superintendent of public instruction.

The new findings, not yet published, confirm the 1950 study. Shortly before the state election, on October 18, 1952, 401 voters were asked the names of nine elective and appointive statewide officers. In 1950 only 4 per cent could name the elective state treasurer; in 1952, 7.2 per cent did so. In 1952 only 5.5 per cent knew the name of the elective attorney general and 5.9 per cent knew the name of the elective superintendent of public instruction. In general, only about two thirds knew whether a given office was elective or appointive although most of them had been voting for candidates for some of the offices for years. Only 43 per cent knew that the superintendent of public instruction was elective.

When asked, after the interviewing, for ideas of improvement of government, voters freely admitted their usual lack of information but only 21 per cent complained that too many officers were elective, although that is the inference which most political scientists would draw.

R. S. C.

^{&#}x27;The results of the 1950 poll are embodied in the 1951 report of the Michigan Legislative Committee on Reorganization. The report is available as one of the readings in *Civic Victories* by Richard S. Childs. See also "Too Many Elective Officials?", by Donald S. Hecock, the Review, October 1952, page 449.

County and Township

. Edited by Edward W. Weidner

Texas County Official Advises Fellow Judges

Stresses Cooperation at All Levels of Government

EDITOR'S NOTE .- The responsibilities of county officials were described in unusually broad terms in the keynote address by County Judge J. N. DICKSON of Grayson County, Texas, at the 1953 convention of the County Judge and Commissioners' Associa-tion of Texas. The county judge in Texas is chairman of the county governing body. Judge Dickson stressed the importance of intergovernmental cooperation. He indicated that county judges are in a strategic position which gives them a special responsibility to inform the citizens not only about the conduct of county business but also about the working of state legislation and institutions with which the judges come in contact. Pointing out that the official oath binds county judges to preserve and protect the constitution of the United States as well as of the state, he declared that their highest duty was to preserve the rights guaranteed by the constitution and "maintain our individual freedom and preserve the American way of life." Excerpts from Judge Dickson's speech, as published in County Progress, official publication of the County Judges and Commissioners' Association of Texas, follow.

WE county judges should be especially interested in the state institutions for the mentally ill. The state builds these mental institutions. County judges, by commitments, furnish the inmates.

We county judges know the following statements to be facts: the mental institutions are overcrowded; hospital facilities are inadequate; institutions do not have sufficient numbers of doctors, nurses or attendants to give the patients the necessary attention; salaries paid are far below those that doctors and nurses receive in private practice.

These conditions should not exist in this great state of Texas. No one is personally responsible for this condition. Apparently no one has ever successfully championed the cause of the poor, unfortunate inmates of these institutions. These inmates are placed in the mental institutions upon commitments authorized by the state of Texas and issued by the county judges. The entire citizenship of Texas is responsible for the conditions under which these inmates live and the treatment which they receive. When the citizens are properly informed as to these conditions they will demand that they be remedied. Your legislature is faced with the responsibility of properly financing these institutions. The people must provide the funds. Tell your senators and representatives how you feel in this matter. Give them your support. . . .

Keep your people informed. The strength of a democracy is the knowledge of its people. In a democracy, wisdom is power, ignorance is destruction. No governmental agency, whether it be national, state or local, has the right to withhold from its citizens records or information which it possesses and which is vital to their welfare unless to divulge such information would imperil the safety of the nation. . . . Give the people the facts, and do not be afraid to risk their judgment.

Secrecy in democratic government leads to suspicion and suspicion leads to distrust. Only through an informed public can we hope to retain our freedom and our liberty.

Work with the press—you will find the reporter wishes to report the facts. Help him to interpret the orders of your commissioners court. Left to his own interpretation he may interpret wrongly and thereby embarrass both the court and the press, especially the court. In addition to the duties you owe your county and state governments, you have a duty to your national government. In your official oath you swore you would, to the best of your ability, "Preserve, protect and defend the constitution and laws of the United States and of this state"

As a nation we have risen to the undisputed leadership of the world. This has been accomplished under the principles and guarantees of the greatest manmade legal instrument the world has ever produced, the constitution of the United States of America. . . .

Today there are good citizens in this country who without proper thought are suggesting destroying certain provisions of this constitution, provisions which protect all the citizens, in order to more easily prosecute those who would destroy all freedom. This danger is so grave that it and what it portends should be called to the attention and thoroughly explained to the American people lest, in angry frustration and disgust at Communist spies who hide behind the provisions of the fifth amendment of the constitution and refuse to give their party affiliations under the excuse that to do so might incriminate them, the American people themselves by amendment might inadvisedly relinquish a part of their guaranteed rights. . . .

The fifth amendment is the basic law which protects a person from brutally forced confessions, that preyents the prosecution from using information obtained by brutality, eaves-dropping and wire-tapping. . . .

It was proposed and adopted as one of the guarantees of freedom and has served this purpose for more than 160 years. Are the people now to decide they know more about freedom and freedom's laws than those patriots who framed the constitution and who had known the tyrants' lash?

No! To do so would be to adopt the same tactics in dealing with criminals or

suspected criminals and/or political opposition as is now the practice in totalitarian countries. The Communists must be driven out of our government, but not at a sacrifice of our individual rights.

The treatment of the individual and the recognition of his individual right is the difference between slavery and freedom.

We must, above all, preserve our constitution and the rights thereunder guaranteed to us. We must, as officials of county government, cooperate with the officials of the other governments under which we live, work for the general welfare, maintain our individual freedom and preserve the American way of life.

Texas Conference Concerned with State-local Relations

At its conference in December the Texas County Judges and Commissioners' Association passed resolutions concerning forest management and state-local relations.

On the former subject it resolved: "That we believe the sale of our national forests in Texas to private interests would be unwise and against the best interests of the economy and welfare of the people of this state and the United States; and we do respectfully urge our United States senators and all members of Congress from Texas to oppose any legislation which would result in the sale of our East Texas National Forests."

The association also vigorously opposed "any and all legislation which would provide for new offices and positions and for a mandatory pay raise for any clerk, auditor, reporter or any other county official or assistant to any county official except with the concurrence of the governing bodies affected."

City-county Consolidation in the News

Consideration of city-county consolidation is widespread throughout the country. In Toledo the Municipal League and the city manager have taken leadership in suggesting creation of a county-wide committee to study the needs of all parts of Lucas County. There is a general feeling among local government officials that some harmonious program should be worked out to serve the best interests of all districts in the county. The needs throughout the county vary but all of them are related to the needs of neighboring communities. Extension of water lines and sewer lines, school district reorganization and expansion, and planning and zoning are suggested.

A study of possible advantages and the feasibility of consolidating city and county boundaries, services and governments has been authorized by the Arizona Legislative Council, according to State Government. Primary objective of consolidation proposals is economy. Representative Alvin Wessler, who presented the project to the council, indicated that some authorities have estimated that combining municipal and county governments and their functions would save up to 25 per cent of the costs of independent governments.

Under consolidation as suggested, municipalities within a county would retain their own names and entities, but multiple government setups would be replaced by a single governing authority. Each area would be given representation on that authority, probably on a population basis. There would be varying tax rates, based on the number and types of public services given and on other factors.

According to the American Municipal News, consolidation of the governments of Memphis and Shelby County, Tennessee, has been urged in an initial planning report prepared for the city by a consultant.

In Louisville, Kentucky, Mayor Andrew Broaddus is seeking uniform closing hours for taverns in the city and county to aid the enforcement of liquor control laws and stop confusion. Indiana's Supreme Court last month upheld a law

under which the health departments of Indianapolis and Marion County may be merged into a joint operation.

A county grand jury has urged creation of a centralized coordinated police force for St. Louis County, Missouri, and the numerous suburbs of the city of St. Louis. The city lies adjacent to, but is not within, St. Louis County. The city has transferred property at Jefferson Barracks to the county for health or educational use.

Kansas City, Missouri, is negotiating with surrounding Jackson County for allocation of county road and bridge tax funds to improve city streets. City residents pay 83 per cent of this tax. Cooperative planning and financing of major mutual-benefit projects is envisioned. In Detroit a joint city-county building is being completed.

Mecklenburg County, North Carolina, has acted in conjunction with Charlotte city officials in appointing a committee to study the problem of acquiring school sites in the fringe areas of the city. Another committee is working on the merger of city and county boards and still another is studying consolidation of the county and city tax collection agencies.

The city of Petaluma and the county of Sonoma, California, have decided upon a city-county courthouse and city hall. The city is putting up 78 per cent of the money, the county 22 per cent.

Long Ballot Operates in Cuyahoga County

The voters of Cuyahoga County (Cleveland), Ohio, elect 32 officials including 21 judges, auditor, treasurer, prosecuting attorney, engineer, coroner, recorder, sheriff, clerk of courts and three county commissioners. An analysis of the rather complicated organization of the county was recently published by the Cleveland Bureau of Governmental Research in its publication Greater Cleveland.

Most of the elective offices are carried over from nineteenth century practices or ideas. However, a number of departments with appointive heads have been established, including the welfare, sanitation, airport, building and civil defense departments, as well as a general agency of budgeting and purchasing. In 1952 the board of county commissioners established the position of county administrative officer in an attempt to facilitate its supervision of these departments.

Highway Problems Discussed by County Officials

The problem of building and maintaining roads and highways of adequate standards and of facilitating highway safety continues to absorb a good portion of the time of county officials. In Wisconsin the County Boards Association has appointed a special committee to study that state's traffic law enforcement problem in an attempt to work out cooperative patterns between local and state agencies that will help reduce the death toll on highways. One suggestion under consideration is expansion of the state traffic patrol force but also under consideration is a reexamination of all state laws relative to highway safety, regulation and enforcement.

A large portion of the recent convention of the Wisconsin Association was devoted to the highway problem. Wisconsin has begun a long-range road construction planning program with emphasis upon developing a master plan built around the more than 2,000-mile state trunk highway system.

Oakland County, Michigan, Builds County Center

Oakland County, Michigan, has taken the initiative in planning an extensive county government service center. Already the county has in operation at the center buildings housing the welfare department, agriculture and extension service, central stores, juvenile home, juvenile cottages, nurses home, contagious disease hospital and infirmary. It is proposing to add to it a new courthouse and office building.

If these steps are carried out it will be possible for a citizen to go to the center and transact any county business he may have all in county-owned buildings with a central campus and grounds.

New York Issues Manual for County Supervisors

A manual outlining rules of order and procedure of the Board of Supervisors in New York State has been issued by the Association of Clerks and Boards of Supervisors. Much of the work on this manual was done by Professor A. M. Hillhouse, of Cornell University, in connection with the expanded services the university is providing county officials.

Township Official Protests Loss of Assessment Duties

The executive director of the Michigan Township Association has come out strongly against a bill which would remove the assessing of property from township officials and place it in the hands of county officers. Editorializing in Official Michigan he says:

"This is a dangerous bill, and we must fight it with all the facilities and strength of our organization. This bill, if enacted, would be the opening wedge in the program of abolishing township government. We have already had many of our functions taken away from us. We must not let them take this vital function away from the township supervisor." Taxation and Finance

Edited by Wade S. Smith

Commission Studies New York Finances

State in Good Financial Condition, Experts Report

THE New York Temporary Commission on the Fiscal Affairs of State Government, created by the 1953 legislature, rendered its first report February 15. The report outlined the method of approach adopted, summarized the progress of studies to the report date, and recommended continuance and initiation of additional intensive investigations in specific study areas. Later in the month, the legislature extended the commission for another year.

The commission was authorized to "make a comprehensive study and appraisal of the fiscal affairs of the state government including its relationships with the federal government and the units of local government." The commission was given broad instructions to study the state's fiscal policies, practices and procedures, the relationship of federal, state and local revenue programs, trends in existing state programs of expenditures, the adequacy of the state's capital construction programs, the equity and adequacy for present and future needs of the state's revenue structure, the effect of the state's constitutional limitations on fiscal policies, the adequacy of the tax stabilization reserve funds and such other subjects as the commission should deem appropriate.

The commission's report discloses that, following its organization in August of last year, it considered whether to make concentrated studies in a few areas, in view of the limited time, or whether to make "diagnostic" studies of as many areas as possible. It determined on the latter procedure, since "all the areas

specified by the legislation could be given consideration. Inter-relationships among all the study areas could be kept in focus" and "once the entire field was reviewed, it would be possible to initiate detailed examination of individual major problems without loss of perspective and proportion. The commission believes that this method . . . permits the greatest long-term contribution to the state. It provides the means of making a comprehensive review of the state's fiscal affairs and establishes an over-all program of study within which all fiscal matters can be examined in a consistent and coordinated manner."

To carry out its studies, the commission adopted a method of approach involving the identification and definition of the major fiscal problems facing the state, determination of the causes of these problems and development of an over-all program of study, with concentration initially on the areas where findings are prerequisite to the study of other areas. For purposes of the study, the fiscal affairs of the state were classified in three major areas: the state's own fiscal activities, federal-state relationships and state-local relationships.

The commission had initiated studies in each of the broad areas defined by its method of approach, and reported advanced progress in its studies of state expenditure trends and revenues. It found that a major problem faces the state over the next decade in the possibility that required expenditures may increase more rapidly than revenues. Assuming no change in the value of the dollar, no extension in the scope of state services, no increase in cost levels-and specifically in salary levels-and that external trends, such as population, proceed at rates indicated by the actual experience of recent years, it was estimated

that state general fund expenditures, covering almost all activities provided from current revenues, would rise from \$1,054,000,000 in 1952-53 to \$1,315,000,000 in 1962-63, an increase of \$261,000,000. In addition, it was estimated that capital outlays may be required at an average annual rate of \$270,000,000 to \$340,000,-000.

Revenue yields from the existing revenue structure were estimated on the basis of three assumptions. Assuming that they rise at the 2.1 per cent average annual rise at which income payments to individuals in the state increased in 1929-52, revenues in 1962-63 would be \$296,000,000 higher than in 1952-53. Assuming that they rise at the 1.6 per cent annual increase in income payments to individuals shown in 1947-52, the total by 1962-63 would be \$264,000,000 higher than in 1952-53.

Finally, assuming that the revenue increase is merely the same as the estimated increase in population—1 per cent per year—the total in 1962-63 would be \$176,-000,000 above 1952-53. All these estimates are in constant dollars, without the addition of new revenue sources. Each increase in revenues is less than the estimated increase in expenditures on the basis cited above.

The commission noted that the state had three alternatives in meeting the budget problem posed by the gap between expenditures and revenues: control of expenditures within the existing revenue structure, increasing the yield of the present revenue structure, or increasing taxes or finding new sources of funds.

The commission found New York State in a good position to cope with its fiscal problems. It commended such major achievements as the executive budget system, separation of state-purpose and local-assistance budgets, modernized system of state aid grants, centralized tax collection and improvements in both capital financing and state debt administra-

tion. It recommended further intensive studies in various areas to maintain the state's position in pioneering in fiscal administration and techniques. Among its proposals was that experiments should be made in one or two departments to develop the most effective cost systems and operating controls.

Chairman of the commission is Dr. Frederick L. Bird, director of municipal research of Dun and Bradstreet, Inc., and a member of the council of the National Municipal League. Vice chairman is State Budget Director T. Norman Hurd. Other members include Frederick W. Ecker, president of the Metropolitan Life Insurance Company; Edward S. Foster, executive secretary of the State Conference Board of Farm Organizations; Weston Vernon, Jr., New York City tax attorney: State Senators Austin Erwin and Samuel L. Greenberg; State Assemblymen Julius J. Gans and Edmund R. Lupton; Allen J. Goodrich, president of the State Tax Commission; and State Comptroller J. Raymond McGovern.

The commission's director of studies is Gilbert H. Clee, of the management consultant firm of McKinsey and Company. Other staff members include Ralph F. Bischoff, John A. Bryson, A. E. Buck, Clarence Heer, Ernest Kurnow, Robert T. Lansdale, Herman C. Loeffler, James A. Maxwell and Paul Studenski.

Cincinnati Levies Earnings Tax

Cincinnati's city council on February 10 adopted as an emergency measure a seven-months one per cent earnings tax, effective from April 1 to October 31, thus becoming the eleventh Ohio city to resort to taxation of income in order to maintain solvency.

Designed to meet a crisis created by the disapproval last November of a request for the renewal of extra property taxes expiring at the close of 1953, the emergency tax is earmarked to provide: (1) administration costs, (2) \$5,500,000 for general operations, (3) \$525,000 for the University of Cincinnati and (4) \$300,000 for rebates. Any surplus received after these allocations is to be devoted to a reduction in the city's bonded debt.

The tax is imposed on Cincinnatiearned earnings of businesses as well as individuals and on non-residents as well as residents. A reciprocity feature, however, allows credits to be taken for similar taxes imposed by other municipalities on the earnings of Cincinnati residents. It does not apply to pensions, annuities, dividends or similar payments.

The tax has had one dramatic though not entirely unexpected result. Councilman Albert C. Jordan, United Steelworker representative, whose regional superior, Al Whitehouse, has vehemently opposed earnings tax legislation throughout his region, though with dubious success to date, has resigned as a member of the City Charter Committee's delegation in council. In a formal announcement February 24, Jordan declared that henceforward he will vote as an "independent."

FOREST FRANK, Executive Director Cincinnati City Charter Committee

Recommend Governments Census Be Resumed

The Intensive Review Committee, appointed last October to review the operations of the Bureau of the Census, has reported to the Secretary of Commerce with recommendations that a broad range of traditional statistical reports of the bureau be continued and improved and that major studies abolished or severely restricted in the last year or so be resumed.

Among the recommendations was one that the complete census of governments, last taken in 1932, be taken in 1956 to cover the year 1955, and that a complete census of government be taken every tenth year thereafter. It also recom-

mended that, during the intercensal period, a biennial sampling survey be conducted to provide up-to-date trend information and that the present program of limited quarterly and annual reporting be continued.

The committee noted that while Congress in 1950 had authorized a complete census of governments to be taken for 1952 and every fifth year thereafter, no funds for the purpose had been provided by Congress. It described the census of government's function as bringing together statistics concerning the federal government, the 48 states and upwards of 115,000 local governmental units, under a program begun in 1850. It found that, "The collection and publication of such information are vital for sound governmental policies affecting intergovernmental relations" and that "local governments and private business . . . find these facts indispensable."

The committee also recommended resumption of compilation and publication of the census of business, the census of manufactures and of various of the publications whose emission had been curtailed in recent years, including the annual Foreign Commerce and Navigation of the United States and the Monthly Summary of Foreign Commerce. It was urged that appropriations be made on a regular basis to support the planned census program so that the bureau might advantageously utilize its highly specialized man power and the various segments of our society might be able to plan on the availability of the basic data. Specific improvements in the presentation of various of the statistical series was also recommended.

In a sharply critical commentary on the "erosion" of sources of basic statistical data, the committee noted that: "Business executives, farmers, labor leaders, professional men, scholars, scientists, government officials and administrators in all phases of the society are dependent on census records or on economic indicators based on census records." Regarding the record of these programs in recent years, it stated, "In plain, unvarnished truth, it is a disturbing record of retrogression."

The 80th Congress took a constructive step in 1948, when the programs of the Census Bureau were reviewed and Public Law 671 was enacted to provide for a carefully planned and staggered program of quinquennial economic censuses-manufactures; retail, wholesale and service trades; mineral industries and transportation. The 81st Congress, in 1949 and 1950, supplemented this program by authorizing a decennial census of housing and a quinquennial census of governments. But what followed? In the words of the committee:

"The first of these carefully planned and rescheduled censuses to come up for budgetary consideration after 1948 was the census of governments, first taken in 1850 and scheduled to be taken this time early in 1953 on 1952 figures, and each fifth year thereafter. Great care had gone into the planning of that census by an advisory committee of outside experts and the bureau staff. Despite the fact that the last good census of that type had been conducted for 1932 at the bottom of the great depression (the 1942 census having been seriously deficient because of unavoidable wartime reasons), funds were denied."

Thereafter, Congress refused to provide funds for the scheduled 1954 census of manufactures. Instead limited spot-check funds were provided. Next to fall by the wayside for lack of funds was the census of business (retail, wholesale and service trades), scheduled for 1954 on 1953 business. Similarly defaulted was the congressional obligation to appropriate funds for a 1954 census of mineral industries and the census of agriculture, scheduled to be taken for 1954. In addition, the foreign trade statistics program was virtually starved, "to the detriment of our foreign traders, government agencies and analysts: and to the embarrassment of the world's chief trading nation."

The Intensive Review Committee comprised nine businessmen and economists appointed by the secretary of commerce last year. Ralph J. Watkins, director of research of Dun and Bradstreet, Inc., was chairman. Other members include Murray R. Benedict, of the University of California; John W. Boatwright of Standard Oil Company (Indiana); Stephen McK. DuBrul, of General Motors Corporation; Peter Langhoff, of Young and Rubicam; J. A. Livingston, financial editor of the Philadelphia Evening Bulletin; Myron S. Silbert, vice president of Federated Department Stores, Inc.; Lazare Teper, research director of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union; and Merrill Watson, executive vice president of National Shoe Manufacturers Association, Inc.

INDIANA STILL SEEKS

HOME RULE

(Continued from page 185)

designated at the time as "Indiana's Little Manion Commission." purpose is to study overlapping federal-state and state-local functions. In the field of state and local relations Governor Craig believes the commission might inquire into the possibility of giving more authority to local governments to carry out some functions now handled by the state, and of finding relief for the fiscal plight of Hoosier cities and towns. This program would not be a substitute for the home rule amendment but rather a basis for legislation to implement the amendment if and when it is added to the constitution.

Citizen Action

Edited by Elsie S. Parker

The 'Do-gooder' in Politics

Novice Spokesman Needs New Approach to the Politician

THE average politician does not know how to deal with the "do-gooder." The lobbyist, the person sponsoring a cause from which he will directly gain economically, the political figure who is attempting to align power centers to his own or his party's advantage—all these are commonplace to the politician. But the individual or the volunteer representative of a citizen's group motivated solely by the desire to achieve better government is an enigma. For want of a better term, the politician refers to him as a do-gooder and treats him with suspicion.

The legislator, the councilman and the administrative head of a large department are all at the vortex of competing forces which demand their making decisions. Like judges depending upon counsel to point up the possible courses of action through their briefs, so, too, the politicians rely upon the charges and countercharges forthcoming through the interplay of pressures brought to bear upon them.

In the courtroom, the judge tends to discount courtroom histrionics and to seek the legal logic inherent in the case. The politician, too, goes right to the heart of the matter and wants to know "what's in it for you?" Knowledge of the personal motivation somehow serves as a catalyst which permits him to weigh the justice of a claim through a peculiar type of logic which also assigns importance to voting strength, symbolic appeal, political associations and the like.

A civic-minded group is characterized by the intensity of its feeling in the

righteousness of its cause. It tends to be idealistic to a fault. The politician knows that sheer idealism in a power-politics world may itself become a power to be reckoned with just so long as it has or may attract battalions of supporters. Thus the politician may not cavalierly disregard the do-gooder. He is an unknown factor and is potentially dangerous; as such he is to be feared. And fear and hate are frequently siblings.

Recently, two legislators were overheard discussing a group interested in better government. Apparently one of the legislators had been approached to obtain his assistance in staging a public forum. The spokesman for the group had explained that the purpose of the meeting was to allow the pros and cons on a current issue to be presented. "What pros and what cons?" was the legislator's inquiry. In scorn he related to his colleague the generality of the response, the failure to detail the arguments which would be raised. That a group should be interested merely in establishing a forum for presentation of all views was incomprehensible to him.

The do-gooder tends to be ignorant of all this. It never occurs to him that the politician is suspicious of the person with a cause and simon-pure motives, that the politician may even dislike him from the time of the first meeting just because he is a do-gooder. Cloaked with the justice of his cause and confident that right will triumph as soon as the politician allows himself to have an open mind, he makes his initial contact. He is listened to politely without any outward manifestation of disapproval. Perhaps he is met with a seemingly sympathetic response in which the difficulties of effectuating the request are outlined. The first meeting he follows up with additional calls, all the while developing his argument along the same theme. And usually he is encouraged to do so, for he meets no open rebuff.

All this is disarmingly misleading. The politician, like the shadow-boxer, is adept at dodging and weaving; he cannot hit back too openly for fear of offending. That he does not respond in kind to the slugging of the advocate of a cause should hardly be interpreted as indicating a favorable attitude toward the cause. Only as time goes on does the do-gooder lose heart while being subjected to what he calls "the old run-around." If the politician approached is supposedly aligned with the forces of evil rampant, this, to the do-gooder, easily explains the failure to achieve conversion. But it is not a sufficient explanation for the lack of cooperation from the politician playing the field.

What is needed in politics is an orientation period for the novice spokesman of the civic group. First, he should be dissuaded from the belief that the politician will be melted into cooperation by the sheer justice of his cause. He must appreciate that the logic of his argument will probably carry less weight than the size, composition and strategic placement in the community of the group he represents. His approach will be artfully designed to emphasize the potential of his group.

The do-gooder will completely disgard the presupposition that the politician, beset by the many personally profiting claimants for aid, will eagerly welcome him as a disinterested seeker after truth. Rather, the do-gooder will discount all outward signs of acceptance as being somewhat hypocritical. He should assume that he is personally obnoxious to the politician, and his first efforts will all be designed to overcome the politician's distaste.

A number of opening gambits might thus be tried—reference to friends or acquaintances had in common, expression of approval or at least a display of understanding the position of the politician on a matter of current interest, and even flattery through acknowledgment that his political utterances and actions have been followed as a matter of course are all within this category.

Once rapport has been established, the politician will feel more at ease with the do-gooder. The latter will still remain somewhat the enigma, but only because he has identified himself with a civic movement without demonstrable selfish motives for doing so. He has taken on a new character as a good fellow, and this over-shadows his original characterization; it is only then that he first becomes effective as a spokesman for his cause. It is to this point that he should bend his initial efforts and, paradoxical as it may seem, until then he will have given more attention to selling himself than to selling his cause.

NORMAN MELLER

University of Hawaii

Citizenship Clearing House Reports on Progress

Bulletins of the Citizenship Clearing House, affiliated with the Law Center of New York University, report that ten citizenship clearing houses were established during recent months, bringing the total number of state and regional affiliates to sixteen. Among the new groups are those in Michigan, with headquarters at Michigan State College, Massachusetts at Amherst College, Ohio at Miami University, Harvard for the Boston metropolitan area, Indiana at Wabash College and Iowa at the University of Iowa. Other state clearing houses include those in Connecticut, Illinois, Kansas, Maine, Minnesota, Missouri, New York, Oregon, Pennsylvania and Washington.

At a meeting of the directors of local affiliates and representatives of institutions considering their establishment, held in New York, primary objectives for state clearing houses were developed: (1) Emphasis will continue to be placed on referring interested college students and graduates to the political party of their choice; (2) effort will be made to encourage greater political participation by outstanding graduates of the last five to ten years; (3) one-day conferences of students, faculty and political leaders will be held for the purpose of introducing students to practical politics. Other activities, such as the development of new teaching techniques and interdisciplinary courses on political behavior, the encouraging of student unions and political clubs, and the publishing of local newsletters, were also suggested. It is anticipated that each local affiliate will prepare a program to meet the particular requirements of the state or area which it serves.

The fourth in the 1953-54 series of conferences on college training for effective participation in politics was held at Marshall, Indiana, December 11 and 12. according to the Clearing House Bulletin. Professor Philip Wilder, of Wabash College, organized the conference, which was under the sponsorship of Wabash and the Citizenship Clearing House. One of the chief speakers was Congressman Charles B. Brownson, of Indianapolis, who urged that young people "burst their way into politics." He commented that college graduates can make a place for themselves in the political parties and that the way to learn is through practical application.

The Political Science Department of New York University is conducting a program (1) to interest students in active participation in politics and (2) to observe the difference in degree of participation between students who have completed the social science course and those who take the traditional required courses in government.

The University of Florida and the Citizenship Clearing House sponsored a

Florida conference in January. Some 50 political and civic leaders, college administrators, and political scientists attended.

The Clearing House is continuing to make available, in a limited number of instances, a "selected group of political scientists to consult with departments which are interested in evaluating their courses in the fields of American government and political parties with special reference to incorporating in these courses greater emphasis on training college men and women for practical politics." Inquiries should go to the Citizenship Clearing House, 40 Washington Square South, New York 3.

Grants for Training

The Maurice and Laura Falk Foundation has renewed its grant to Boston University for its Citizenship Training Project. Increased to \$16,000, the grant is to support the second year of "grass roots training" in the practical operation of local, state and national government. Director of the project will be Professor Troy E. Westmeyer.

A bequest has been made to the New Jersey College for Women to establish the Wells Phillips Eagleton and Florence Peshine Eagleton Foundation. Income from the \$1,000,000 gift is to be used for "the advancement of learning in the field of practical political affairs and government to the end that the study of actual administration of government, especially in the municipality and state, may be encouraged."

The Carnegie Foundation has made a grant of \$90,000 to Northwestern University to extend over three years. The money is to be used to reorganize the political science curriculum, both graduate and undergraduate.

Citizenship on TV

"Citizens Union Searchlight," a radio program of the Citizens Union of New York City, broadcast every Sunday afternoon at 1:30 over WNBC, is now being seen as well as heard. Since January 10 it has been televised, the presentation being made on Sundays at 12:30 over WNBT.

"The Citizens League in Action," a program of the Cleveland Citizens League, is televised every Saturday night over WNBK-TV. Two types of program have been presented: (1) Meetings of league committees, which discuss a given subject and (2) a guest speaker who is plied with questions. According to Stan Anderson, radio and TV columist for the Cleveland *Press*, it is "one of the finest programs on the local air... When the prizes are passed around this series should not be overlooked."

Inspect Housing

The Citizens Association of Kansas City (Missouri) recently sponsored a tour of housing conditions in the city, in which some 45 representatives of local groups participated.

The tour demonstrated two things, says the Kansas City Citizen: (1) that the three public housing projects completed or nearing completion represent definite progress; (2) that much more low-cost housing is urgently needed. Several photographs of the tour are reproduced in the bulletin.

The association has issued an attractive four-page leaflet which pleads, "Help Keep Kansas City Free of Machine Rule!" The leaflet describes the origins of the citizens movement, what the association is doing and how it works. It winds up with "Your Responsibility"—an invitation to citizens to join the league and participate actively in its work.

Golden Anniversaries

The Chicago City Club, organized 50 years ago, held its anniversary banquet on February 16. A feature of the celebration was the nation-wide broadcast of

the weekly program, "Town Meeting of the Air" on "Do Our States Dominate Our Cities?" Among the speakers were Governor George N. Craig of Indiana and Mayor David Lawrence of Pittsburgh. Several past presidents and charter members were honor guests.

In an address before the Chicago City Club in December, Civic Director Guy D. Yoakum "urged that the City Club take special cognizance in its next half century of the need for bringing the forces of education and religion into closer harmony with true democracy, which translates itself into making our educators and cultural leaders, our ministers and churches, more responsive to the great needs of our increasingly complex civilization," reports the City Club Bulletin. "Through the years it has been in the realm of education and morals that the club has won its greatest success, said Mr. Yoakum. It has exalted intelligence and integrity as the requisites of good citizenship." The next 50 years presents an even greater challenge, he concluded.

The Commonwealth Club of California, which held its golden jubilee celebration in May of last year, has published a Golden Jubilee number of The Commonwealth, its weekly publication. Front and back covers comprise a photograph of the 500 members and friends attending the banquet. Speakers included Robert Gordon Sproul, president of the University of California, on "The Most Famous Forum of the West," and I. E. Wallace Sterling, president of Stanford University, on "The Commonwealth and the State," as well as Justice Homer R. Spence and Max Thelen, former presidents of the Club, and others. Music and motion picture presentations were featured.

Illinois Manager Plan Conference

An all-day conference on the councilmanager plan was held in November in Peoria, Illinois. Sponsored by the Illinois State and Peoria Chambers of Commerce, the meetings were attended by delegates from numerous Illinois cities, particularly those which have recently adopted the council-manager plan. Reports on how the plan has worked in Bloomington, Peoria, Rock Island and elsewhere were heard; the act under which cities may secure the plan was explained.

Community Councils Celebrate

Four community councils in Kansas City, Missouri, celebrated their tenth anniversaries last fall. These councils are composed of neighborhood groups and were among the first organized after the inception of the city's Community Service Division. According to the Kansas City City Managers' News Bulletin, three new neighborhood councils are in process of organization.

Work on 30 Projects

There are 30 projects listed in the News Bulletin of the Citizens League of Greater Minneapolis for its 1954 program. Each is being promoted by one of the league's committees.

The league's Report of Two Years of Growth and Action (twelve pages) shows that the membership has passed 2,200; adequate broadly based financial support has been developing; a solid record of contribution to better city and county government has been established; a sound organization has been set up and good procedures for tackling problems have been adopted; top grade volunteer personnel has been enlisted and a capable staff has been employed; the league has been well received generally.

A six-page folder describes the league in popular terms, winding up with an appeal for membership.

'Who Picks Our Judges'

This is the title of a pamphlet recently issued by the Citizens Union of New York City. The report cites evils of the present system, taking its evidence from the Second Report of the New York State Crime Commission, and advocates for New York City a new method of judicial selection.

The method includes important features of the so-called Missouri Plan, advocated by the American Bar Association and the American Judicature Society, but does not require constitutional amendment. Also it is not open to the objection often made to the Missouri Plan that under it there is no way to get a good judge if the governor or mayor who names the judges persistently declines to name a good one, though a bad judge can be turned down by the electorate at a referendum on his continuance after a short period of service.

Cleanup for Streets

The Reduction of Litter on the Streets of New York City is a report of the Municipal Affairs Committee of the City Club of New York. The report concludes that "at best there are problems connected with the collection of refuse in New York which are almost impossible of solution. . . . However, the City Club believes that a combination of rigid enforcement, a continuous public relations program including community organization, more effective control of parking, industry cooperation and the concentration of collection and cleaning facilities in offending areas are best calculated to achieve lasting results. Above all, the will to have a clean city must come from the top of the city administration and it must be vigorously and increasingly felt at all levels of the city's personnel whether in the sanitation. police and health departments or in the courts."

Researcher's Digest

Edited by John E. Bebout

'The People's Right to Know' Reviewed

Access to Public Records Discussed by Harold Cross

YOU can't print that" is a reply not unfamiliar to newsmen in search of reputedly public records. As government has grown, many newspapermen, researchers and interested citizens have found it increasingly difficult to gain first-hand access to records of the public's business. And yet, "Public business is the public's business. The people have the right to know. Freedom of information is their just heritage. Without that the citizens of a democracy have but changed their kings."

Here is the attitude of journalists involved in the problem of what is and what is not public information. The words are those of Harold Cross in opening his book, The People's Right to Know, which is an invaluable source of knowledge on the subject. Commissioned by the American Society of Newspaper Editors (ASNE) as a report on laws affecting access to public information, the book is at once a well organized report, a legal reference work, a textbook and a spirited account of what remains a misty no-man's-land between government on all levels and the people.

Mr. Cross has specialized in newspaper law for many years, principally as counsel to the *New York Herald Tribune* and as a lecturer at Columbia University on laws affecting journalism.

Excepting military and atomic energy censorship, the book gives the ASNE's answer to the question, "Where can we get organized material on this subject with actual experiences recorded and

¹Columbia University Press, New York City, 1953. 405 pages, \$5.50.

lines of action indicated?" In the preface, Mr. Cross expresses the hope that the book will be of especial use in smaller communities where newspaper law experience or books in which the law may be found are not available.

The need for a composite work on "Legal Access to Public Records and Proceedings," the book's subtitle, is emphasized by recent activity in the field of governmental research as well as in journalism. Last year a report to the Michigan Joint Legislative Committee on Reorganization of State Government said that certain of the regulatory agencies being studied were ignoring the laws under which they were operating, sometimes circumventing them, and often applying them unequally. In culling data for the report the roadblock of "That's confidential information!" was met more than once. Final recommendations include the need for "full and complete records of public hearings" by the agencies under scrutiny.

More recently, the Virginia Press Association adopted a resolution urging the General Assembly to make records of juvenile offenders available to the public through the press. The VPA argued that secrecy of arrest and trial of juveniles in many instances has served to encourage delinquency rather than to protect the good name of the accused.

On the other hand, the Civil Rights Committee of the New York State Bar Association recently proposed for adoption by the state legislature a resolution which would make it unlawful in any criminal case for prosecutor, defense attorney or any official connected with the case to make public any information about the defendant before trial.

Again, Frank S. Hogan, Manhattan district attorney, in commenting on his refusal to disclose the contents of criminal confessions, said last month: "I'll

agree that it is a postponement of the people's right to know, but it is only done in an effort to preserve the traditional rights of a defendant under our system of law."

In his book Mr. Cross notes a heavy increase in the trend toward secrecy in several fields, chiefly in financial dealings between government and citizens. This trend toward changing transactions between government and citizens from the status of public business to one of "privileged, confidential relationships has been spreading into the field of taxes, penalties, settlement of claims and the like."

Judicial proceedings, records and official action affecting various phases of family relationships have also tended toward secrecy by virtue—or by the evil—of bureau regulations and recent statute law. In other respects the law has improved generally on the matter of public records, particularly in the states and municipalities. Louisiana is cited as one of the states in which the statutes are most clear.

Mr. Cross swings his axe most effectively in commenting on federal government regulations. Provisions in the U.S. Code are taken to task for the present state of affairs in which people must trust primarily to "official grace" and other non-legal considerations for their information. Qualifications in other acts of Congress have allowed agencies "to withhold practically all the information they do not see fit to disclose." He also criticizes the 1951 executive order which. while providing uniform standards for classifying and protecting security information, at the same time deprives the courts of their jurisdiction to sit in judgment on issues of "right."

"Most of the existing rights to inspect state and municipal records, imperfect as such rights are in the absolute sense," are "strikingly superior . . . to the federal scene," Mr. Cross comments.

In a chapter on "State and Municipal

Proceedings," Mr. Cross cites the National Municipal League and the American Municipal Association as opponents of the abuses implicit in closed meetings, particularly by small governing bodies. With regard to expanding statutory secrecy in such proceedings, he says:

"A powerful factor in expanding statutory secrecy in the field of administrative proceedings and records . . . is the activities of organizations and associations of administrative officers, the current of whose philosophies and incentives, quite regardless of questions of sincerity, makes them in general proponents of secrecy, opponents of publicity. Inasmuch as some reason may always be advanced for secrecy, legislative action in that direction is likely, as experience indicates, in the absence of spirited challenge at the threshold. A challenge of this kind, by representatives of public and press, is a crying need of the hour."

Relevant to this area of the discussion is a section from the National Municipal League's A Guide for Charter Commissions dealing with "access to public acts and records," which states: "Popular government depends on adequate information about the conduct of government. This, in turn, requires that government, so far as possible, be conducted in the open."

The book is provided with numerous footnotes, frequently citing addresses where copies of pertinent data may be obtained. It has four large appendices listing: (1) cases where newspapers were litigants, (2) state statutes defining the term "public records," (3) state statutes creating, defining or stating right of inspection of public records, and (4) statutes of records for purposes other than inspection. All in all, it is a rational, although obviously partisan, presentation of the problems related to gathering facts from official sources. It is a harvest of information for those concerned with "the public's business."

Still more recent action which rounds

out the information in Mr. Cross's book was reported in an Editor and Publisher editorial on March 6. Ohio is cited as the eighth state to join the ranks of those which have laws providing that "all meetings of any board or commission of any state agency or authority are declared to be public meetings open to the public at all times." Columbus, Ohio, immediately climbed on the bandwagon as its city council followed the state's lead with an ordinance which in effect forbids secret sessions for the public's business. By mid-March Maryland had become the ninth state to adopt an "open meeting" law. The Maryland Press Association was largely responsible for promoting adoption of the legislation.

"Eventually, every state should make such guarantees by law to its citizens," the editorial concludes. "Newspapers, as a general policy, should back these measures. Only their sustained interest and support will convince legislators."

ANDREW J. LAZARUS

Metropolitan Study Center at Northwestern University

Northwestern University has established a Center for Metropolitan Studies which will investigate the prospects and problems of metropolitan areas, giving special attention to metropolitan Chicago. It will function as a cooperative program integrating the work of specialists in several schools and departments of the university.

"The center," Dr. J. Roscoe Miller, Northwestern president, emphasized "is for both teaching and research in a field of study clearly vital to the welfare of us all."

The program of the center will include a continuation of a series of lecture discussions on metropolitan Chicago questions which was initiated in 1948 and conducted under the name of the Metropolitan Chicago Research Center. This series provides a forum for the exchange of information and policy opinions among members of the Chicago area business community, city and suburban officials and Northwestern University personnel.

New York Group Makes Awards for Service

The Citizens Budget Commission's annual awards for service to the city of New York were recently announced:

For high public service by an individual, Devereux C. Josephs, chairman of the Temporary State Commission to Study the Organizational Structure of the Government of the City of New York;

For a career that has exemplified the best in municipal civil service, Charles Gilman, administrator of business affairs of the Board of Education.

For the most noteworthy contribution by a newspaper during 1953 to an understanding of the significance of good management in achieving efficient and economical administration of the city of New York, *The New York Times* for articles written by Peter Kihss on the capital plant of New York.

Bureau Notes

The Municipal Technical Advisory Service of the University of Tennessee has received its 1,000th request for assistance from a Tennessee city. This request, typical of the other 999 received in the MTAS's four-year history, is for a "charter and code of ordinances" for Columbia. MTAS has received requests for technical assistance from approximately 190 different cities during the past year. Assistance to cities has involved almost every phase of municipal governmental activity.

The Associated Institutes of Government of Pennsylvania Universities has changed the name of its publication from Municipal Administration to Horizons for Modern Pennsylvania Local Government. "The change in name indicates the change of emphasis. The former publica-

tion directed the attention of local government officials to technical subjects in the field of public administration. *Horizons* will try to lift the eyes from day-by-day routine to over-all problems that need to be solved if Pennsylvania local government is to continue to adjust itself to the needs of the modern day." The January 1954 issue was the first number in the new series.

Research Pamphlets and Articles

Aged

Homes for the Aged. Story No. 1—Background for Action; Story No. II—A Project and a Problem. (A problem of the Toronto Metropolitan Federation). By Eric Hardy. Toronto 5, Bureau of Municipal Research, Civic Affairs, January 28 and February 12, 1954. 5 and 4 pp. respectively.

Alcoholism

Alcoholism. Public Health Problem No. 4. Frankfort, Kentucky Legislative Research Commission, November 1953. 20 pp.

Budgets

BUDGETS, SURPLUSES — DEFICITS AHEAD??? Michigan Expects to Balance its Budget this June, But There is Possibility of Another Deficit in 1956. Detroit 26, Citizens Research Council, Council Comments, February 12, 1954. 4 pp.

FURTHER STEPS TOWARD A BALANCED MUNICIPAL RAILWAY BUDGET. San Francisco, Bureau of Governmental Research, Bulletin, February 26, 1954. 2 pp.

Business and Government

CLINIC ON STATE GOVERNMENT. By Jack B. Mackay. Chicago 37, Council of State Governments, State Government, December 1953. 4 pp. (Excerpts appear as "Minnesota's Novel Experiment. Business and Government Figures Convene to Discuss Common Problems."

New York 20, Tax Foundation, Tax Outlook, February 1954. 4 pp.)

Capital Improvements

FINANCING PHILADELPHIA'S FUTURE CAPITAL IMPROVEMENTS. (Revised Edition.) Philadelphia 7, Bureau of Municipal Research, August 1953. 22 pp.

County Government

A COUNTY EXECUTIVE OFFICER. By Samuel K. Gove. Urbana, University of Illinois, The Department of Agricultural Economics and the Institute of Government and Public Affairs, Local Government Notes, November 1953. 6 pp.

Drunken Driving

TESTS FOR DRUNKEN DRIVING. Baton Rouge, Louisiana Legislative Council, February 2, 1954. 17 pp.

Education

5000 CITIZENS REPORT ON THEIR SCHOOLS. Kentucky's Education Puzzle. Frankfort, Kentucky Legislative Research Commission, August 1953. 13 pp.

LOCAL PUBLIC SCHOOL EXPENSES AND STATE AID IN CONNECTICUT. Including Data for the School Year, 1952-1953. Hartford 3, Connecticut Public Expenditure Council, January 1954. 33 pp.

Efficiency

Measuring Efficiency Factors in Local Government. By S. Sugden. London W.C.2 (England), The Municipal Journal, Public Works Engineer and Contractors' Guide, February 19, 1954. 1 D.

Federal-local Relations

FEDERAL-CITY LEGISLATIVE DEVELOP-MENTS. A Report from Washington. By Albert Rains. Montgomery, Alabama League of Municipalities, Alabama Municipal Journal, February 1954. 3 pp.

Flood Control

THE CENTRAL AND SOUTHERN FLORIDA FLOOD CONTROL PROJECT. By William F. Larsen. Gainesville, University of Florida, Public Administration Clearing Service, 1954. 24 pp.

Handbooks

A Handbook for Texas Voters. (Revised Edition.) Austin, University of Texas, 1953. 60 pp. 50 cents.

Legislative Bodies

LEGISLATIVE REORGANIZATION IN MINNESOTA. Minneapolis 3, League of Women Voters of Minnesota, November 1953. 20 pp. 20 cents.

Liquor Control

IMPACT ON ALCOHOLIC BEVERAGE CONTROL OF TAXATION AND MARK-UP. Cleveland 14, Joint Committee of the States to Study Alcoholic Beverage Laws, 1953. 59 pp.

STATE VS. LOCAL LIQUOR CONTROL. San Francisco 19, Commonwealth Club of California, *The Commonwealth*, Supplement, March 1, 1954. 36 pp. 25 cents.

Mining

STRIP MINING. A 1954 Kentucky Legislative Problem. Frankfort, Kentucky Legislative Research Commission, January 1954. 15 pp.

Municipal Government

MUNICIPAL GOVERNMENT IN NEW JERSEY. By Stanley H. Friedelbaum. New Brunswick (New Jersey), Rutgers University Press, 1954. 63 pp.

REPORT OF THE PROCEEDINGS AT THE 68th ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING AND CONFERENCE. London, Westminster, S. W. 1 (England), Institute of Municipal Treasurers and Accountants, 1953. 134 pp.

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THE PUBLIC SAFETY DEPARTMENT. A Study of Integrated Police and Fire Services. Martinez (California), Contra Costa County Taxpayers' Association, December 1953. 4 pp.

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BIENNIAL ROUND TABLE CONFERENCE ISSUE. Chicago 37, American Public Welfare Association, *Public Welfare*. January 1954. 44 pp. \$1.00.

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THE MUNICIPAL RECREATION SURVEY—ITS NATURE, ITS PURPOSE, ITS VALUE. By William G. Robinson. Ann Arbor, Michigan Municipal League, *Michigan Municipal Review*, February 1954. 2 pp.

State Aid

THE PROPOSED REVISION OF STATE AID IN MASSACHUSETTS. By Troy R. Westmeyer. Boston, Boston University, School of Law, *Law Review*, January 1954. 18 pp. \$1.00.

State Government

MICHIGAN REGULATORY AGENCIES. Part I—AN OVER-ALL VIEW WITH FINDINGS AND RECOMMENDATIONS. Part II—INDIVIDUAL AGENCIES. Lansing, Michigan Joint Legislative Committee on Reorganization of State Government, 1953. 74 and 136 pp. respectively.

STATE ADMINISTRATIVE AGENCIES. Constitutionally Prescribed Powers and Duties. By University of Oklahoma, Bureau of Government Research. Oklahoma City, Oklahoma State Legislative Council, 1953, xiii, 86 pp.

State Printing

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THE INCOME TAX AMENDMENT: A STRAIT-JACKET FOR SOUND FISCAL POLI-

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PAYMENTS IN LIEU OF TAXES. Digest of proposed laws introduced in 83rd Congress, 1st Session, prepared by the Washington office of The National Association of County Officials, Englewood (New Jersey), National Association of County Officials, *The County Officer*, February 1954. 2 pp.

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STATE AND LOCAL GOVERNMENT SPENDING: How Fast Will It Rise? Evidence Indicates Outlays Will Continue to Mount. By Roger A. Freeman. New York 20, The Tax Foundation, Inc., Tax Review, February 1954. 4 pp.

STATE INCOME TAX WITHHOLDING. Chicago 37, Federation of Tax Administrators, November 1952. 35 pp.

STATE SUPPORT AND GRASS ROOTS: CITY FINANCE. University, University of Mississippi, School of Commerce and Business Administration, Bureau of Public Administration, Public Administration Survey, January 1954. 6 pp.

TAX-EXEMPT PROPERTY AT RECORD PEAK. Boston 8, Municipal Research Bureau, *Bulletin*, January 1954. 2 pp.

TRENDS IN PUBLIC FINANCE—As They Affect Citizens and Taxpayers in Ten-

nessee. Significant Aspects of Federal, State and Local Government Finance. Nashville 3, Tennessee Taxpayers Association, January 1954. 39 pp.

A TWO-YEAR ANALYSIS OF MINNESO-TA'S STATE FISCAL OPERATIONS. St. Paul 1, Minnesota Institute of Governmental Research, Inc., February 1954. 8 pp.

UTAH STATE GOVERNMENT FINANCIAL SUMMARY, 1953-55 Biennium. Salt Lake City 1, Utah Foundation, Research Report, February 1954. 4 pp.

Trailers

TAXATION AND REGULATION OF HOUSE TRAILERS. Philadelphia 4, University of Pennsylvania, Associated Institutes of Government of Pennsylvania Universities, Municipal Administration, December 1953. 2 pp.

Urban Decentralization

Are New York's Business Offices on the Way to the Suburbs? New York, The Bowery Savings Bank, 1953. 13 pp.

Urban Redevelopment

Towards a New Birmingham. Slum Clearance and Redevelopment. London, *The Municipal Journal*, December 4, 1953. 27 pp.

Water and Sewer Service

THE WATER AND SEWER PROBLEMS OF METROPOLITAN COLUMBUS. Columbus 15, Citizens Research, Inc., 1954. 4 pp.

Water Systems

LEGAL PROBLEMS AND RESPONSIBILITIES IN ADMINISTERING WATER SYSTEMS. By Ernest H. Campbell. Seattle 5, Association of Washington Cities in cooperation with the University of Washington, Bureau of Governmental Research and Services, January 1954. 21 pp.

Workmen's Compensation

THE KANSAS WORKMEN'S COMPENSA-TION ACT. By Harry O. Lawson. Lawrence, University of Kansas, Governmental Research Center, *Your Govern*ment, February 15, 1954. 5 pp.

Books in Review

STUDY KIT ON MICHIGAN LOCAL GOV-ERNMENT. Ann Arbor, University of Michigan, Bureau of Government, Instiute of Public Administration, 1954. Variously paged, 75 cents. (Discounts on quantity orders.)

This kit will constitute an extremely useful tool for both citizen groups and schools in their study of local government. It consists of a series of eleven carefully prepared charts illustrating local government and an information pamphlet supplying descriptive detail in an easily readable style.

The charts and descriptive sections deal with specific cities as illustrations of the basic governmental forms. This gives the presentation a reality which is so often absent from abstract descriptions of organization or structure.

In addition to city governments, the village, rural township and urbanized township are described. The existing government and a model county manager plan for a moderate sized county are charted and discussed.

A chart dealing with the judiciary presents in graphic form the route of appeals and the jurisdiction of the several levels of the court system. The descriptive comment concludes with a discussion of elected versus appointed judges.

The final chart shows the tax calendar for counties, townships and school dis-The accompanying description tricts. defines a number of terms used in the chart, points to the importance of the property tax as a revenue source and suggests ways of improving the property tax process.

A particularly useful feature of the kit is the list of ways "to learn about" following each chapter of the explanatory pamphlet. If those who use this kit follow these suggestions they will have an invaluable series of field trips and interviews which cannot help but be informative.

Although the kit deals with structure, in the introduction it instructs those who use it: ". . . remember that it is people that make government good or bad. The best structure in the world cannot operate without competent officials backed by informed and interested citizens."

WILLIAM N. CASSELLA, JR.

PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION REFORMS. Edited by Walter M. Daniels. New York, H. W. Wilson Company, 1953. 200 pp. \$1.75.

This timely compendium of recent discussions regarding the election of the president reflects the agitation developing in many quarters for less disorderly and more controllable procedures than those we now use in those vast private organizations which we call Democratic and Republican. Parties are essential in filling the gap left by the virtual elimination of discretion of presidential electors, but their internal methods are complex and in large part are unrealistic and only in nominal use. The idea that substantial numbers of party members will turn out at a precinct caucus to elect delegates of a county convention which, in turn, would elect delegates to a state convention of a thousand members, which will meet for a day and elect delegates to the national conventions is only about 5 per cent true to the facts as will presently be disclosed by a great study of the American Political Science Association covering the 1952 nomination processes in all the states.

This little volume brings together the most useful of recent comment and material.

R. S. C.

POLITICS, PRESIDENTS AND COATTAILS. By Malcolm Moos. Baltimore, Johns Hopkins Press, 1952. 237 pp. \$4.50.

This is a statistical study of the degree to which congressional elections run parallel to the presidential vote. It points out a growing disparity between the district votes and those of presidential candidates ranging from an average difference of 5.3 per cent from McKinley's election down to 1916 to 11.9 per cent for the period 1916-1948. Special attention is given to close districts and there is a large reduction of the facts to maps, tables and graphs. A source book and an important one with some fresh evidence for students of congressional phenomena and of our political parties at the national level!

Additional Books and Pamphlets

(See also Researcher's Digest and other departments)

Aged

A BIBLIOGRAPHY FOR MATURE READERS. New York 16, Lifetime Living Magazine, 1954. 25 pp.

How to Live from 40 On. By Lifetime Living Magazine in cooperation with Senator Thomas C. Desmond, chairman, New York State Joint Legislative Committee on Problems of the Aging. New York 16, Lifetime Living Magazine, 1954. 24 pp.

THE NEEDS OF OLDER PEOPLE AND PUBLIC WELFARE SERVICES TO MEET THEM. An analysis and Description of Public Welfare Experience. By Elizabeth Wickenden. Chicago, American Public Welfare Association, 1953. 148 pp. \$2.

Annexation

Annexation Problems and Suggestions for Adopting an Annexation Policy. Report on Proposed Christiansen Annexation. Beloit (Wisconsin), Office of City Manager, 1953. 7 and 9 pp. respectively.

Assessors

PROCEEDINGS—1952 AND 1953 INSTI-TUTES FOR MUNICIPAL ASSESSORS. Madison 3, League of Wisconsin Municipalities, Assessors' Section, 1953. 126 pp.

County Government

COUNTY GOVERNMENT IN ESSEX, NEW JERSEY. An Outline of Its Origin, Its History and Its Functions Today. Compiled from Information Collected by Its County Supervisor Walter S. Gray. Newark, Essex County Board of Chosen Freeholders, 1953. 108 pp. Illus.

Directories

ILLINOIS MUNICIPAL DIRECTORY. Officials of Illinois Municipalities over 1,000 population. Mayors, Village Presidents and Clerks of Illinois Municipalities of Less Than 1,000 Population. Springfield, Illinois Municipal League, 1953. 96 pp. \$5.00.

Economics

ASPECTS OF THE LOUISVILLE AREA ECONOMY. By James W. Martin and Will S. Myers. With the cooperation of The Louisville Courier-Journal and Times, Louisville Chamber of Commerce and Agricultural and Industrial Development Board of Kentucky. Frankfort, Agricultural and Industrial Development Board of Kentucky, 1953. 47 pp.

Housing

Housing Conservation Round Table. Report and Recommendations. New York 20, House & Home, October 1953. 16 pp.

Public Housing. By Paul L. Poirot. Irvington-on-Hudson (New York) Foundation for Economic Education, 1954. 36 pp. Single copy free; 8 copies \$1.00; 25 copies \$2.50.

Judiciary

BAR SURVEYS OF TRIAL COURTS. Homer S. Cummings Lecture on Judicial Administration. By Murray Seasongood. New York 3, New York University, School of Law, 1952. 12 pp.

Juvenile Delinquency

UNDERSTANDING THAT BOY OF YOURS. By Melbourne S. Applegate. Washington, D. C., Public Affairs Press, 1953. 52 pp. \$1.00.

Licensing

LICENSING AND INSPECTION. An Organization Survey Report. Washington, D. C., District of Columbia Department of General Administration, Management Office, May 1953. 95 pp.

Municipal Government

THE AMERICAN CITY. By Frederick Shaw. New York City, Oxford Book Company, 1953. 92 pp. 60 Cents.

MAGNIFICENT WHISTLE STOP. 00-Year Story of Mendota, Illinois. Mendota Centennial Committee,

173 pp. Illus. \$4.35.

MUNICIPAL GOVERNMENT IN NEW JERSEY. By Stanley H. Friedelbaum. New Brunswick (New Jersey), Rutgers University Press, 1954. vii, 56 pp. \$1.00.

Neighborhoods

BLUEPRINT FOR NEIGHBORHOOD CON-SERVATION. A Program for Large-scale Elimination of Slum, Blight and Unfit Housing Conditions. Washington, D. C., National Association of Real Estate Boards, 1953. 39 pp. Illus.

Parking

Anchorage Parking Survey. Anchorage (Alaska), Citizens Parking Committee and City Planning Commission, 1954. 36 pp.

Planning

COUNTY PLANNING IN THE NEW JERSEY-NEW YORK-CONNECTICUT MET-ROPOLITAN REGION. New York Regional Plan Association, Inc., Regional Plan Bulletin, October 1953. 16 pp. \$2.00.

THE PLANNING BOOKSHELF. A Selective List of Recent Accessions. New York 17, Regional Plan Association, 1954. 4 pp.

PLANNING OR "COMMUNITY HASH"-A CHOICE FOR UTAH COUNTY. Provo (Utah), Utah County Planning Commission, 1953. 32 pp. 50 Cents.

Real Estate

RELATIONSHIP OF PRICE AND ASSESSED VALUE OF REAL ESTATE SOLD IN PHILA- DELPHIA, 1943-1952 (Ten-year Issue). Philadelphia 7, City Planning Commission, Public Information Bulletin, July 1953. 8 pp.

Recreation

SCHOOL-CITY COOPERATION IN THE PLANNING OF RECREATION AREAS AND FACILITIES. By George D. Butler. (Reprinted from Recreation, April, May and June, 1953.) New York 10, National Recreation Association, 1953. 12 pp. Illus. 75 cents.

Refuse Disposal

REFUSE COLLECTION AND DISPOSAL FOR THE SMALL COMMUNITY. Chicago 37, American Public Works Association, November 1953. vi, 39 pp.

Retirement

RETIREMENT COVERAGE OF STATE AND LOCAL GOVERNMENT EMPLOYEES. Washington 25, D. C., Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, 1953. 12 pp. 10 cents.

Service Charges

SEWAGE SERVICE CHARGES IN CITIES OVER 5,000 POPULATION. Chicago 37, American Public Works Association, 1953. \$2.00.

Slum Clearance

A NEW FACE FOR AMERICA, A Program of Action Planned to Stop Slums and Rebuild Our Cities. Washington 6, D. C., National Association of Home Builders, 1953. 25 pp. Illus.

SELECTED CHARACTERISTICS OF LOCAL PROGRAMS AND PROGRAM OPERATIONS as of June 30, 1953. ASPECTS OF COSTS: 42 PROJECTS WITH LOAN AND GRANT ALLOCATIONS as of September 30, 1953. Washington, D. C., Housing and Finance Agency, Division of Slum Clearance and Urban Redevelopment, 1953. 6 and 12 pp. respectively.

Taxation and Finance

THE NEW YORK STATE AND LOCAL TAX System 1953. Albany 1, New York State Department of Taxation and Finance,

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State Tax Commission, Research and Statistics Bureau, 1953. 32 pp.

ORLAHOMA SALES TAX INCLUDING OPERATIONS OF THE USE TAX AND COIN DEVICE LICENSES. Statistical Report for the Fiscal Year Ending June 30, 1953. Oklahoma City, Oklahoma Tax Commission, Division of Research and Statistics, 1953. 37 pp.

TAXES, NATIONAL SECURITY AND ECONOMIC GROWTH. New York 22, Committee for Economic Development, Research and Policy Committee, 1954. 44 pp.

THE TAX INSTITUTE AND POSSIBILITIES OF FUTURE SERVICE. By Herbert M. Kelton. (Presidential Address, December 4, 1953) Princeton (New Jersey), Tax Institute, Inc., Tax Policy, January 1954. 8 pp. 25 cents.

Unemployment Relief

THE PROBLEM OF ABUSE IN UNEM-PLOYMENT BENEFITS—A STUDY IN LIM-ITS. By Joseph M. Becker. New York City, Columbia University Press, 1953. xx, 412 pp. \$6.50.

Urban Redevelopment

TOWARD A NEW FACE FOR AMERICA'S CITIES. Cities Organized Reconstruction. (Based on New Orleans activities.) Washington, D. C., National Association of Home Builders, Department of Housing Rehabilitation, 1953. 16 pp. Illus.

Youth

FROM SCHOOL TO JOB: GUIDANCE FOR MINORITY YOUTH. By Ann Tanneyhill. New York 16, Public Affairs Committee, 1953. 28 pp. 25 cents.

Zoning

SUGGESTED MUNICIPAL REGULATIONS FOR ROADSIDE ZONING ALONG NEW JERSEY'S BLUE STAR MEMORIAL HIGHWAY. Trenton 7, State of New Jersey Department of Conservation and Economic Development, Planning Section, 1953. 12 pp.

PRE-PRIMARY TRIAL DROPPED (Continued from page 191)

ber, is difficult to determine. That many do so is a fact.

The recent repeal of the pre-primary convention statute ended a brief experiment. It was an interesting chapter in the politics of the state. To some it was quite satisfactory. But to its opponents it was unacceptable from the beginning. It was adopted through the urging of party leaders in order that they might give the voters their announced preferences. It did serve as a guide, but whether it did more than that is difficult to appraise.

There was more than mere lipservice given to the idea that political party leadership was essential and that it could not maintain itself with the unrestricted use of the direct primary. Where the average voter may not have much information about the maze of candidates he finds when entering the voting booth he may earnestly want to know party preferences. Beginning in 1954 the Nebraska voter will find his party primary ballot with names only and must rely upon the tacit understandings of preferences by the party managers.

It is unlikely that the law will be re-enacted in the near future, if ever. But it had many friends, most of them apparently outside the state legislature. The fact that the Nebraska legislature is nominated and elected on a nonpartisan ballot may have had some bearing on the repeal during the 1953 session, but the legislature which enacted it ten years earlier was similarly elected.

NSIDE THE OFFICE

Theodore White of The Reporter agazine and author of Book-of-thelonth-Club selection Fire in The Ashes, alked into the office two weeks ago in



Theodore White

search of information about American cities and states. Home from a fifteen-year stint as foreign correspondent in the Far East and Europe, White believes that some of the most dramatic stories of the day

re brewing in the U.S.A. right now.

. Thomas Graham, president of he Bankers Bond Company in Louisille and new NML Council member, paid a call to the office recently. He expressed interest in the League's evolving program in state government.

Franklin A. Lindsay of the Ford oundation talked with staff members about the League's work....

Miss Helen H. Abreu, chief attorney of the Philippines' Commission on Elections, conferred recently with John

Bebout on her study of American election administration. She is currently studying at New York University. . . . Arthur Glover,

Arthur Glover, director of the Schenectady (New York) Bureau of Municipal Re-



Municipal Re- Sherwood Reeder search, came to the NML for advice

on a state conference on county govern-



Belle Zeller

ment to be held in Schenectady. . . . Radio Free Europe and the Voice of America have checked with the staff regarding the All-America Cities Awards and other recent citizen action stories. Both

stations are planning a number of programs, based on the winning cities' experiences, for overseas broadcast....

Sherwood Reeder, president of the Pennsylvania Economy League, was a caller at the office....

The National Federation of Business and Professional Women's Clubs has ordered 2,300 Citizen As-

sociation manuals for incorporation in its study kits to go to affiliates all over the country. Also ordered were reprints of the Look article on the All-America Cities Awards and a leaflet describing the con-



John M. Kernochan

test. . . John Keith, League senior associate and trustee of the Governmental Research Association, met with the GRA trustees and GRA conference committee on plans for the organization's 1954 conference. . . .

Professor Belle Zeller of Brooklyn College, Professor John Kernochan of Columbia University, and Herbert

(Continued on next page)

Conference Panel Report Available

A report entitled *More Responsible* States has been issued by the League. The report is a mimeographed transcript of a panel session held in November during the 59th National Conference on Government at Richmond, Virginia.

Chairman of the session was Frank C. Moore, former lieutenant governor of New York, now president of the Government Affairs Foundation. Participating in the discussion were W. Brooke Graves, Library of Congress; George D. Braden, town counsel, Plainville, Connecticut; Mrs. Tom Ragland, Democratic National Committeewoman for Tennessee; Charlton F. Chute, Pennsylvania Economy League, Southeastern Division; Albert L. Sturm, West Virginia University; and Charles B. Coates, general manager, Citizens' Committee for the Hoover Report.

The report, which covers 33 pages, is available from the League's office for 50 cents, or may be obtained on request without charge by sustaining members.

New Directory-Report to Be Issued Soon

The League will shortly issue a new directory of its officers and council for the current year in conjunction with a report covering operations for 1953.

First part of the 64-page booklet will contain the report, while the main section will comprise biographical sketches of the League's principal officers, regional vice presidents and council members.

Survey Committee Revises Constitution

The NML Survey Committee has prepared a proposed revision of the League's constitution which will be distributed to officers and Council for consideration at the spring meeting of the Council. Accompanying the revised constitution will be a tentative draft of the Survey Committee's report dealing with its recommendations regarding the study of the League's operations and future opportunities prepared by Dr. Joseph F. McLean of Princeton University.

Upon the Council's approval, the revision will be circulated to League members. Final action will occur in November at the annual membership meeting during the 60th National Conference on Government in Kansas City, Mo.

The revision reflects more clearly fully and explicitly the extent and na ture of the League's program. It put greater emphasis on the educational na ture of the League's work and on it service being primarily directed to citi zens. Classes of membership ar omitted, being left for the Council t decide. Other proposed revisions dea with the government of the League and are aimed to bring the constitution mor in line with current practice and needs One proposal allows for a larger Execu tive Committee, which will provide fo more flexible government as well as suf ficient quorums to conduct the League' business during the year.

(Continued from preceding page)

Wiltsee and B. E. Crihfield, Council of State Governments, met with League staff members. . . . Over 3,000 copies of a new leaflet describing the All-America

Cities Awards and a reprint of the Look article have been requested by the Chamber of Commerce of the United States.